

SHAKESPEARE QUARTERLY

VOLUME II

JANUARY, 1951

NUMBER 1

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AMS REPRINT COMPANY
New York 3, N.Y.

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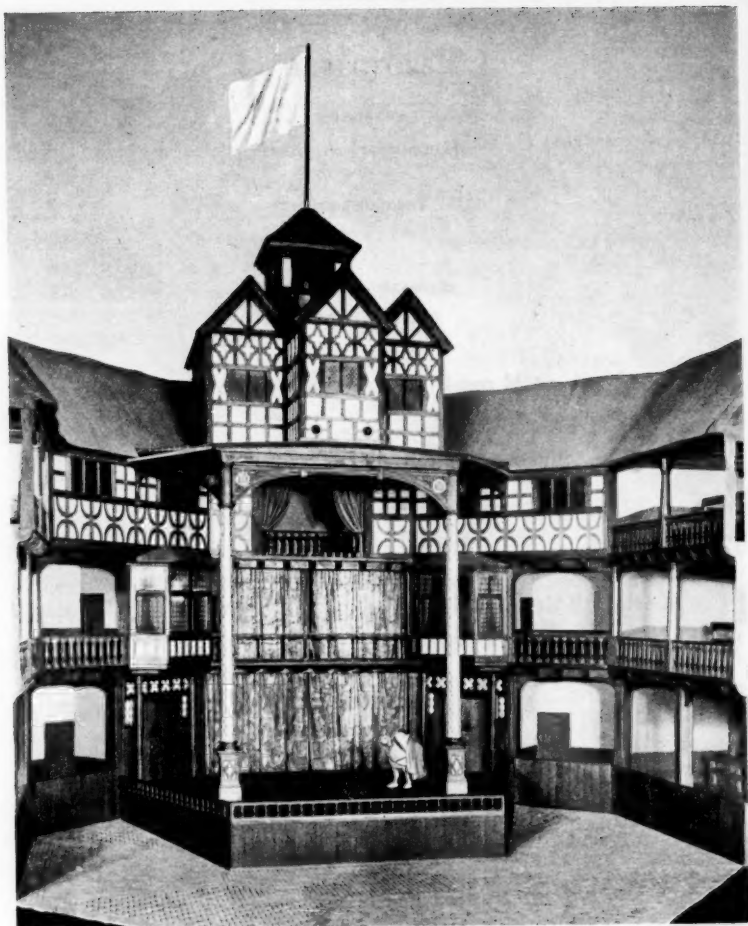
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ADAMS MODEL OF THE GLOBE PLAYHOUSE

"THAT VIRTUOUS FABRICK"

By JOHN CRANFORD ADAMS

I

THE GLOBE PLAYHOUSE,¹ erected in 1599 by a syndicate composed of seven actors including William Shakespeare, was a large handsome building accommodating upwards of 2,000 spectators. It contained the most remarkable stage in Europe, a stage so enlarged and improved that it launched a new era in Elizabethan theatrical history. It also launched the decade of Shakespeare's supreme achievement and rewards. His fame is intimately linked with the Globe Playhouse which he helped to finance and to plan.

The Globe was completely Elizabethan in design, materials, and character. Its brick foundations rested on wooden piles driven into the marshy Bankside earth. Its frame was of oak, hand hewn, dark, and durable. This frame represented half the total cost of the building; it came piece for piece from the old semi-abandoned Theatre (still owned by two members of the syndicate) which had been erected 23 years earlier in Holywell on the opposite side of London. Rather than pay for a new frame, the syndicate elected to take the old one apart, carry it across London and the Thames, and reassemble it for their new theatre. This decision dictated in turn that the Globe was to be identical in shape and size with its predecessor, for there is little or no interchangeability in such construction. Thus the Globe was a hollow octagon, measuring 13 feet through the frame, 84 feet between opposite outer walls, and 58 feet between opposite inside walls. Everywhere the frame was three stories high—the first story 12 feet, the second 11, and the third 9. Add these to the height of the foundations and you find that the "plates," i.e., the highest horizontal members of the frame, were 35 feet above ground. Now the Globe frame was roofed with thatch and thatch requires a pitch of not less than one in one; hence the total height when the thatching was complete approximated 43 feet.

It will be noted that most of the familiar contemporary views of the Globe exaggerate its height. The fact is that the unroofed yard formed by the encircling frame was almost twice as wide as its sidewalls were high. Actors did not perform as if in a well.

The Globe had exterior stairways constructed on two sides of the octagonal frame. Those for the use of the audience were paired symmetrically on either side of the main entrance door facing north toward the river bank. Entering by that door, a spectator not wishing to join the "understanding gentlemen of the yard" turned at once sharp left or right and entered a short corridor leading to the galleries. Mounting four or five steps to the level of the first gallery, he either turned to enter there, or proceeded straight ahead up one or two flights of stairs to the galleries above. It was common building practice in those days to construct exterior stairs; it was sensible to place them at the back of the audi-

¹ This article is adapted from a lecture given on the celebration of Shakespeare's birthday at the Folger Shakespeare Library, April 23, 1950.

torium close to the main entrance. Every theatergoer could find his way with ease; the noise and disturbance caused by latecomers was kept to a minimum. To collect all admission fees to the yard and galleries required the services of seven "gatherers": one at the main door, one in both corridors leading to the galleries, and one in each pair of entrances to the first and second galleries. Gallants seeking a place in one of the four small boxes or "Lord's rooms" adjoining the stage entered by the stage door and paid the company's deputy adequately for their privilege.

The stairway on the opposite side of the building, near the stage door, was likewise constructed outside the main frame. Smaller than the audience stairs, however, and rising only part way, it was designed to meet the needs of actors, musicians, and stage hands passing between the first and second levels of the stage house.

The outer walls of the main frame of the Globe together with these various corridors and stairways were enclosed and protected from the elements by plaster laid on lath between the broad oak beams of the frame. In this detail the building followed the prevailing, decorative style of the period.

Examination of the contemporary pictorial representations of Elizabethan playhouses has led to the notion that windows were constructed in all sides of the exterior walls. Windows, needless to say, were the best means of lighting the backstage areas used by actors as well as the stairways and corridors used by the audience; therefore these areas were provided with them. I doubt, however, if windows other than these were called for in any exterior walls of the Globe.

Still another structural unit added to the main frame was visible from outside the playhouse; namely, the cluster of "huts" and a bell tower erected over the stage house opposite the main entrance door. This bell tower was about 8 feet square and rose some 20 feet above the roof of the frame. It served moreover as a base for a lofty pole from which fluttered a large white flag on days when a play was scheduled. Londoners looked across the Thames to catch sight of these conspicuous flags if their mood was inclined toward playgoing.

II

The spectator with slender purse who paid his entrance penny at the main door under the Globe sign and, shunning the more expensive galleries, walked straight ahead for a matter of fifteen paces found himself in the middle of the playhouse yard open to the sky. Behind him and on both sides rose the sturdy oak columns and beams of the spectator galleries occupying three quarters of the octagonal frame. Each level of this triple tier of galleries contained three rows of benches, the front row guarded by a balustrade and those behind constructed on risers to ensure good sight lines. Back of the third row lay a broad passageway giving ready access to the benches and also providing standing room once all seats were filled. Some 700 could sit in the Globe galleries, some 600 others could stand.

Our spectator standing in the middle of the yard was soon surrounded by 600 other "groundlings" if the play drew a full house. Underfoot the brick paving sloped gently downward toward the stage to give everyone a chance to see

the performance. Ahead, breast high, lay the large platform stage occupying one-third of the yard and extending back to the frame line where it met the vertical façade of the stage house or "tiring-house" (to use the Elizabethan term) which occupied the remaining quarter of the frame. If the outside of the Globe was undistinguished except for its size and shape, the inside was as splendid as the owners could make it. Puritan preachers were scandalized by the excellent workmanship, the handsome appointments, the carved columns of the galleries, and above all the great tiring-house all freshly painted in gaudy colors and enriched by tapestried stage curtains, projecting bay windows, turned balustrades, decorative plasterwork, and other details of the highly developed multiple stage.

III

Today we are more interested in the design and equipment of this multiple stage than in any other part of the Globe Playhouse, because Shakespeare had a hand in its design, for this stage he wrote his greatest plays, and from the success he and his fellows made of their venture he drew that fortune which enabled him to retire a well-to-do man to the Stratford he knew as a boy.

We are further interested because in any other type of stage Shakespeare's plays emerge in performance unlike the plays as Shakespeare knew them. A musical composition intended for strings is a different thing when played by brasses. Shakespeare wrote plays characterized by an unbroken continuity of action, by a deliberate ebb and flow of dramatic tension, and by an almost complete freedom to employ a succession of diverse scenes—scenes long or short, large or small, indoors or out, upstairs or down—precisely as best suited his plot. He also could avail himself of the fact that certain scenes could be played in the center of the auditorium, within arm's reach of many spectators and within 50 feet of all 2,000; or that other scenes could be played in one of the inner stages behind the scenic wall some 30 feet from the nearest spectator and 85 from the most distant. These potent theatrical conditions—and there are others—shaped and determined the nature of Shakespeare's plays as originally conceived and produced. Any radically different theatrical conditions inescapably alter his particular artistry. Adaptation to a proscenium stage with its slower tempo, intermissions, and sharply restricted playing area usually means severe abridgement of the text with consequent loss of dialogue, minor parts, and even whole scenes. It also means a compromise between delays for scene-changing, or acting without the support of helpful scenic apparatus, backgrounds, and properties. Again, it means the absence of that vigorous physical movement which animates every good Elizabethan play. And further, it means that scenes which for their proper effectiveness must be played almost in the lap of the audience are presented in the same place as scenes which were intended for the most remote corner of an inner stage. Certain of these drawbacks also attend performances of Shakespeare's plays in a modern "theater-in-the-round." Intimacy between audience and actor may be secured and modest fluidity of action, but one small level stage can hardly suggest the spacious three dimensions of the Elizabethan stage, nor can a bench and chairs naively carried on and off bespeak the great range and realism of Elizabethan scenic appurtenances.

More than a generation ago, before much attention had been given to the nature of an Elizabethan stage, the noted scholar Sir Sidney Lee wrote: "In Shakespeare's day the public stages were bare of any scenic contrivance except a front curtain opening in the middle and a balcony or upper platform resting on pillars at the back of the stage." Every detail and implication of this pronouncement is incorrect, yet it has persistently warped or colored popular opinion since the turn of the century. The fact is that the Globe multiple stage brought to its highest development a complex theatrical instrument as native to England and as indicative of her genius as Shakespeare himself. Tracing the stage history of the years 1550 to 1650 I conclude that the designers of the Globe are to be honored not so much for radical invention as for harmonizing, perfecting, and giving full scope to the best earlier experiments in English stage design. The results were so successful that all rival playhouses were at once outclassed and outmoded. As soon as possible thereafter they were altered or replaced. At the same time, I find no evidence that the new Fortune (1600), the new Red Bull (1605), or the completely rebuilt Hope (1613), all of which had stages of the same type, made any significant advances beyond the first Globe.

IV

The outer stage was the original, the largest, and the chief playing area of the Elizabethan multiple stage. In the Globe it measured 41 feet wide at the rear, narrowed to 24 feet at the front, and projected 29 feet forward from the scenic wall into the playhouse yard. Its level floor contained approximately 1,000 square feet (the average proscenium stage today requires under 500 feet). No curtain ever interposed between this stage and the audience, and no gallant, however new his cloak, was allowed to sit on it (a custom restricted to private stages with quite different stage arrangements). It may be doubted if rushes were strewn over much of its surface; by 1613, if not earlier, woven mats were used for special performances.

A low wooden rail marked the outer edges of the platform to keep actors from inadvertently stepping off into the pit. Two great posts spaced 24 feet apart and located 17 feet out from the scenic wall rose from the platform to support the forward edge of the stage ceiling or "shadow" 32 feet overhead. These stageposts had the proportions of ship's masts rather than Doric columns (as shown in the DeWitt sketch of the Swan Theatre). In the main they were ignored as a necessary evil, but writers occasionally made dramatic use of them, treating them as trees, monuments, maypoles, etc.

On the center line of the platform, midway between the stage posts and the scenic wall, lay the largest trapdoor of the entire stage. Measuring 4 by 8 feet, it was large enough to lower a chariot drawn by devils, or to raise an arbor or a tree laden with golden fruit. The trap was operated mechanically and was capable of either rapid movement or slow. Normally, however, its cycle of fall and rise was brief: theatrical illusion was not helped by exposing the cellar beneath the platform to the gaze of spectators in the upper galleries. To signal for a lowering of the trap an actor on the platform stamped his foot sharply or rapped with his dagger, or spade, or wand. Four small hinged traps were supplied "in the corners of the stage" but were seldom used.

The absence of a front curtain established a number of conditions unlike those of a proscenium stage, among them the need for all actors to walk on at the beginning of an outer-stage scene and to walk off—if alive—at the end. Dead bodies resulting from the perennial duels and battles of Elizabethan plays presented a problem to the dramatist. One calls to mind Falstaff's prank with the body of Hotspur (in essence a novel and well-disguised device for clearing the stage) or the funeral marches which bring *Hamlet* and many other tragedies to a close.

As everyone knows, the public theatres of Shakespeare's time began their plays in the early afternoon so as to take advantage of full daylight for the entire performance and to ensure that theater-goers might return home before dark. Experience evidently called for a roof over the tiring-house façade and over most of the platform, both to protect them from rain and the glare of a cloudless sky and to serve as a sounding board. One Elizabethan term for this roof was "the shadow"; another was "the Heavens"—in reference to the fact that gods and goddesses were lowered to the stage through trapdoors in the stage ceiling. Appropriately, the underside of the "shadow" was painted with stars and the figures of the Zodiac on a light blue ground.

It was amusing to see the stage and actors drenched by pelting rain in the opening sequence of Sir Lawrence Olivier's splendid motion picture version of *Henry V*, but it was hardly accurate.

In the plays written between 1599 and 1610 Shakespeare mounts 43% of all his scenes on the outer stage alone. If one adds those other scenes in which the outer stage is used in combination with another stage, the total mounts close to 55%. These figures attest the importance of the platform in the greatest period of English drama.

V

The rear line of the Globe platform met the rising walls of the octagonal frame in such a way as to establish a scenic wall formed in three planes: a middle section 24 feet wide flanked on either side by two sections each 12 feet wide. This scenic wall rose 32 feet above the platform to the level of the stage ceiling. Behind this wall, constructed in the 13-foot depth of the frame, lay the secondary stages and the hidden backstage adjuncts of the tiring-house. Centered in the first level was the curtained inner stage called "the study"; flanking it were offstage lobbies behind the large doors opening to the platform. Over the study on the second level lay another curtained inner stage, and over the pair of stage doors projected a pair of large bay windows. Centered in the third level was a music gallery perhaps 16 feet wide and 10 feet deep, with extensive storage lofts for costumes and properties flanking it on either side. Behind all these units lay a network of passageways and stairs linking each to the other as well as to dressing rooms, the cellar beneath the main stage, and the huts above the stage ceiling. Except for the curtains of the two inner stages, the façade of the Globe tiring-house faithfully resembled its prototype, a row of contemporary London houses.

The main stage doors were solidly built of oak, set in substantial frames; they opened into the tiring-house. They were larger than standard domestic

doors; i.e., 5 feet wide and 9 feet high, to permit large crowds to pass rapidly on and off the platform, to give easy access to columns of soldiers carrying banners, pikes, and scaling ladders, or to enable Roman emperors in chariots drawn by slaves to enter standing. These stage doors were provided with large practicable iron knockers and key holes at which an actor could go through the motions of locking up. Furthermore, each door had a wicket, that is to say, a small barred opening located at eye level. These wickets were common enough in Elizabethan domestic architecture, hence were entirely appropriate to the scene as well as useful for occasional stage business. Their chief purpose, however, was to permit the unseen prompter to follow the progress of the action on the outer stage and at the same time be directly in touch with all backstage activity.

Both inner stages, located one above the other in the broad middle section of the tiring-house, were 24 feet wide and a matter of 7 or 8 feet deep. The lower one was 12 feet high, the upper was 11. These dimensions in the Globe ensured that spectators in all parts of the house—whether far to the side or high in the galleries—could see clearly whatever took place in them. A scale model makes this important fact clear.

The curtains which concealed the two inner stages were divided in the middle, suspended by rings sliding on fixed rods, and opened laterally. These curtains were a matter of great pride to Elizabethan theatrical companies and were replaced from time to time with ever more colorful tapestries and fabrics. We learn of silk tapestries at a private playhouse in 1600 and of similar extravagance in a public playhouse not long after.

The curtains made it possible not only to "discover" a major unit of the multiple stage prepared in advance with distinctive properties and scenic hangings, but also to close the stage to view once the action shifted elsewhere and to refurnish it while the play continued. Herein lies the means by which the Elizabethan drama achieved a flow of action as uninterrupted as that of today's motion picture. Growing up in this tradition, Shakespeare based his dramatic technique squarely upon it; and for a modern production to check the career of one of his plays by act and scene intermissions is to violate a cardinal principle of his art. It is akin to requiring arbitrary pauses in the midst of a movement in a symphony.

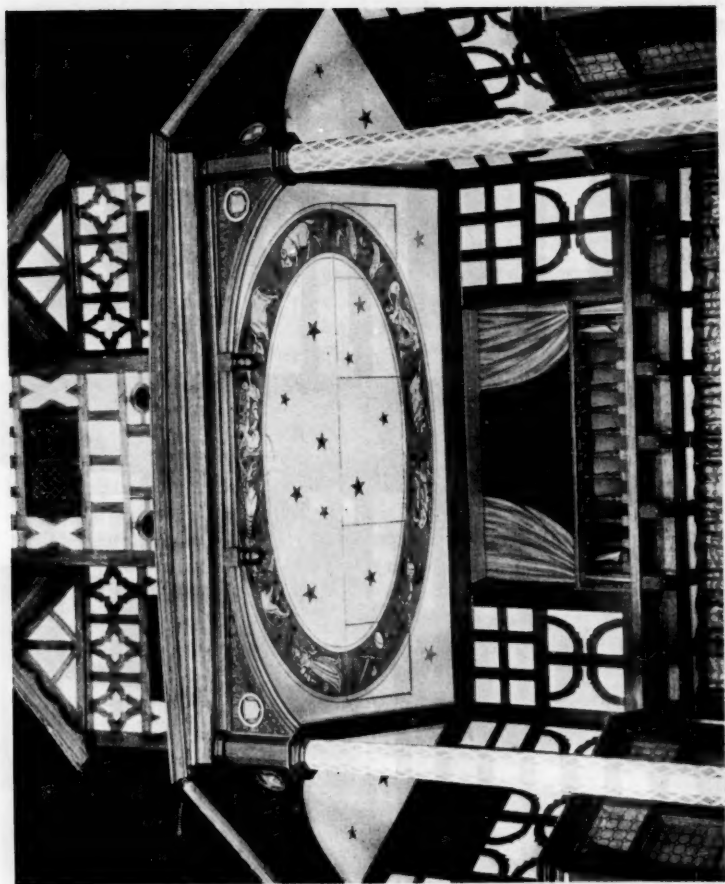
The interior walls of the inner stages were made as flexible as possible. In each stage the wall at the rear was supplied with a curtained opening in the middle, with a practicable door on one side, and with a glazed window on the other—all three opening upon a backstage corridor. These fittings were highly appropriate for the majority of inner-stage scenes: a council chamber, a bedroom, a tavern, and the like. They could be concealed by painted cloth hangings when the study was called upon to suggest a tent, cave, or wooded glade. Or again, the middle opening of either stage could be prepared as an alcove for a bed, an altar, or a tableau, with the other two units suitably concealed.

The sides of the inner stages were screened by hangings suspended at an angle influenced by sight lines. Actors entered and left through these side hangings as freely as through "wings," their modern counterpart.

The floor of the study was supplied with a long narrow trapdoor which



THE THEATER SIGN AND THE MAIN ENTRANCE



THE HEAVENS AND THE UPPER STAGE

could be opened during the course of a scene by a ghost or a devil from Hell, or which could be prepared in advance as a grave or a well. Unlike trap scenes on the outer stage, those in the study could be prolonged indefinitely, supplied with a wide range of suitable apparatus, and therefore greatly varied in treatment.

The ceiling of the study was also provided with a trap, but compared to the floor trap, its use was limited because of sight lines and because it lent itself but little to realistic drama. Shakespeare seems to have ignored it; on the other hand over thirty plays by other dramatists reveal stage business and situations dependent upon it.

In Shakespeare's plays from the period 1599-1610 almost 20% of all scenes are intended for the study alone, and 10% for the upper stage alone. In addition, another 10% are intended for the study and the outer stage combined.

VI

At the Globe the upper stage was similar to the study below it in all major respects except one: it had a long narrow balcony in front of its curtains instead of the broad platform. This balcony was, in fact, the second oldest unit of the multiple stage, going back to early innyard days when actors took advantage of some second-story gallery over their stage to create the illusion of a city wall or castle parapet. The spate of historical plays written for the forerunners of the Globe indicates that for years a balcony or "tarras" formed an indispensable part of normal stage equipment. Scenes were rarely mounted on the tarras alone, but almost invariably—early and late—in conjunction with action on the stage below. As a distinctive stage the tarras waned after 1594. Increasingly after that date the drama tended to shift away from battles and to go indoors, which helps to explain the need for a second inner stage. The heavy tarras parapet which in historical plays had withstood so many boisterous assaults had in time to give way to the lightest possible guard-rail so as not to interfere with a clear view into the important stage behind. Needless to say, the tarras lost its separate identity once the upper curtains were opened; it then formed merely a useful forward extension of the upper-stage floor.

Historically the upper stage was the last major unit to be incorporated in the multiple stage. Its development was logical: for one thing the tarras and window stages had given a dynamic up-and-down movement to the action of Elizabethan drama; for another the rear stage of the first level proved so indispensable that the need for a second inner stage became obvious. Furthermore, having two curtained inner stages to work with, the dramatist could alternate interior scenes (as in *Romeo and Juliet*, *Hamlet*, and *Lear*) without recourse to an outer-stage scene interposed to allow time for shifting rear-stage settings. Indeed, the upper stage made a world of difference. It is the keystone in the arch of Elizabethan stage technique. With it available as well as the other units of the multiple stage, playwrights could reflect the English mode of living—or for that matter the Greek or Roman, French or Danish modes as they and their audiences conceived them—with ease and plausibility. An Elizabethan plot of the great period moves with theatrical logic indoors or out, downstairs or up through three levels (and if desired through five) of the multiple stage. This free and infinitely varied range of movement gave Shakespeare's

plays a physical vitality to match their emotional and intellectual power. The only modern theatrical device capable of recapturing this mobility and variety is the motion picture camera.

Adjoining the upper stage on either side lay a pair of window stages constructed over the main stage doors in the oblique sections of the scenic wall. Each stage was 12 feet wide, filling the structural unit or "bay" of the playhouse frame. Evidence of many kinds points to the fact that they projected boldly from the wall and that the hinged casements were large and practicable. Thin curtains made it possible to screen the windows when musicians played in those stages to accompany songs and dances on the outer stage.

Window stages were first made famous by Juliet before the Globe was built. She was seen by Romeo after he climbed the wall into her garden, not on a balcony but in her window. Romeo's subsequent descent from this window by means of a rope ladder is the first in stage history—a bit of business so successful that it became standard fare in later plays. After 1599 Shakespeare makes little dramatic use of the window stages; a notable exception, however, occurs in *Anthony and Cleopatra* in which the dying Anthony, supported on his great shield, is heaved aloft into one of them as if into the upper story of Cleopatra's stronghold known as the Monument.

VII

The music gallery on the third level of the tiring-house over the inner stages had a guard rail together with a set of diaphanous curtains installed to mask the musicians at work. Doubtless the prompter two flights below had some sure means of signalling to his instrumentalists overhead, for his prompt-book reminded him to mark the entrance of a king with fanfare or flourish, or to intensify the approaching crisis by thunder or the offstage roll of drums. Music of wide range and of a high order was demanded by Shakespeare's company. Its orchestra became famous. First Shakespeare (notably in *The Tempest*) and then a number of other dramatists made occasional use of the lofty music gallery for visible dramatic action related to scenes on the tarras or the outer stage below.

The superstructure consisting of a bell tower and huts above the music gallery and stage ceiling has already been referred to. Bells to suggest the passage of time or the threat of great danger were required in many a play. "Silence that dreadful bell!" cries Othello when in the middle of the night its insistent clamor frights the citizens of Cyprus from their beds. Another bell tolling in the Scottish night invites Macbeth to murder Duncan. Study of the Elizabethan drama helps one to grasp the vital part that bells played in the life of the Renaissance.

The huts surrounding the tower provided working space over the trapdoors in the stage ceiling, housed the winches employed in raising and lowering the gods, and made provision for the cannon, "chambers," and other pyrotechnic devices so loved by theatregoers of the age. It was a cannon fired in a play by Shakespeare and Fletcher in the year 1613 that set fire to the Globe that one dry summer's day and burnt "that virtuous fabrick" to the ground. Promptly and with greater magnificence than before the playhouse was rebuilt, only to

disappear in that period which saw an English king lose his head on a real scaffold. When again will the Globe be rebuilt? How except on its great multiple stage can we reproduce Shakespeare's plays as he produced them? What better monument could be raised to his imperishable fame?

Hofstra College



ARTIST'S SKETCH OF THE PLAYHOUSE

NOTES ON THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE GLOBE MODEL

By IRWIN SMITH

HIGH UP on the superstructure of the model,¹ in the huts that overshadow the platform stage far below, are two tiny brass turnings which represent the cannons—chambers, they were called in Shakespeare's time—with which the Globe Playhouse is known to have been equipped. The chambers were shot off during battle and coronation scenes, or when King Claudius drank deep at Elsinore. On the afternoon of June 29, 1613, during a performance of the play *King Henry VIII*, they were discharged to herald the arrival of the King at Cardinal Wolsey's palace; and "some of the paper or other stuff wherewith one of them was stopped, did light on the thatch, where being thought at first but an idle smoke, and their eyes more attentive to the show, it kindled inwardly, and ran round like a train, consuming within less than an hour the whole house to the very grounds. This was the fatal period of that virtuous fabric. . . ."

"That virtuous fabric" turns out to have been the most significant building in the history of English literature, though that destiny was not suspected at the time: significant not merely as the workshop of the world's greatest dramatist, significant not merely as the place where his greatest plays received their first performances, but significant above all as a building which left its impress upon the very structure of the plays themselves. The design and equipment of its multiple stage, and the conventions to which they gave rise, were a part of the material out of which Shakespeare's plays were built.

Unfortunately, when the Globe Playhouse was "consumed to the very grounds" on that unhappy afternoon, it left behind it little documentary evidence bearing directly upon its design and its equipment. No plans have been found, no architect's drawings, no builder's contract, no specifications—nothing but scattered and indirect allusions and casual implications. The vast search for fragmentary and isolated facts, the gathering of them together from a thousand sources, the weighing and interpreting of them, and the organizing of them into the first complete and unified reconstruction of the Globe Playhouse—for all these things the world of scholarship is indebted to John Cranford Adams.

Dr. Adams' discoveries and conclusions were first stated in his book *The Globe Playhouse: Its Design and Equipment*, published in 1942 by the Harvard University Press. They are now restated, in tangible three-dimensional form, in the model which for the first time is being exhibited to the public here at Hofstra College.

If the model were merely a replica of an existing or a fully-documented building, it would be interesting for its craftsmanship, but not important otherwise. But that is not the case. It is important because it is the most complete visualization yet achieved, of a *lost* building which will yet be of concern

¹ Adapted from a speech delivered at the Hofstra College Shakespeare Festival, March 24, 1950.

to us as long as the English language is spoken. It is important as the statement of the most advanced scholarship, with respect to a building which must be understood if Shakespeare's plays are to be fully understood.

Book and model supplement one another. The book gives not merely the conclusions, but the evidence and documentation upon which those conclusions were based. The model brings the conclusions home, in easily comprehended form, to eye as well as to mind. Taken together, they constitute a contribution of the first magnitude in the field of Shakespearian scholarship.

Dr. Adams had already been at work on the model for five years before I learned of its existence; perhaps it would be even more accurate to say that he had been at work on it for fifteen years, since all of his prior studies and researches had been a preparation not for his book merely, but for the model also.

When I first saw the model, the multiple stage was already virtually complete. The three levels of the galleries had already been built. Every important dimension had been laid out in wood. The cake had been baked: what remained was merely to put on the icing. I asked to be permitted to work with him on what remained to be done, and found myself accepted as his assistant. For more than four years we have worked together, sometimes on the same job, but more often on separate projects converging toward the same final goal.

Dr. Adams had laid out the model to the scale of one-half inch to one foot, or 1 to 24. Since the Globe itself was $84\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide across its basic frame, the model is $42\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide. It is $17\frac{1}{4}$ inches high to the eaves line, and $32\frac{1}{4}$ inches high to the base of the flagpole.

The Globe is known to have been built of timber. That fact is established not only by certain legal documents of the period, but also by the words of Shakespeare himself, who called it "this wooden O"; and in Elizabethan England, construction in wood meant what we now call half-timber, or black-and-white, construction.

Half-timber construction was a natural result and expression of the resources, the limitations, and the skills, of mediaeval England. Timber there was in abundance: good staunch and sturdy English oak, than which no finer building wood has ever existed. And there were axes and broad-axes and adzes, and men whose skill in the handling of them had come down from grandfather to father, and from father to son, for generation after generation. They squared the timber with axe and adze, and left it large, partly because large beams gave strength and the appearance of strength, and partly because it was easier to use large scantlings than to cut them into smaller ones.

The sizes of the timbers were prodigious by today's standards. For their corner-posts they used pieces $10''\times 10''$ or $12''\times 12''$ in solid oak, even on domestic buildings, where today we might use a couple of two-by-fours in pine. For their joists they used sticks $9''\times 7''$ or $8''\times 6''$ in cross-section, where today a $2''\times 6''$ would serve. In the Globe, which carried the weight of more than 1,400 persons in its three galleries, the timbers must have been extravagantly heavy; and therefore the model has corner-posts scaling at $15''\times 15''$ on the first level, and diminishing to $12''\times 12''$ on the third.

Walnut has been used on the model, rather than oak, as being more easily

workable, truer to scale, and less liable to warp. Nearly every piece of wood has come from a single fine plank that Dr. Adams found many years ago, a plank 17 feet long by 14 inches wide by $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick. It was a beautiful piece of wood, straight-grained and close fibred, sound and well-seasoned. He cut it up with saw and plane into the thousands of tiny balks and planks, balusters and mouldings, that the model required. Nothing now remains of it except the model itself and some sawdust.

In Tudor England the axe was the tool-of-all-work. The saw existed, but was little used: this is proved by the timbers themselves, which seldom show saw-marks even on faces that were entirely concealed. But with or without a saw, it was a slow and tedious job to cut an oak-tree into planks in those days of handtools, and therefore Tudor artisans chose to make planks as seldom as possible, and then only when nothing else would serve. So they turned to plaster, rather than to wooden sheathing, to fill the panels of the outer walls. And there you have the essence of half-timber construction: sturdy oak balks, square or nearly square in cross-section, supporting and framing the white plaster that filled the spaces between. In Tudor days two men laid the plaster, one on each side of the wall, working it with trowels into and over a trellis of stakes and twigs which served as lath. In building the model, we too used actual plaster, but we laid it over a lath of thin plywood, and our tools were a teaspoon and a medicine dropper.

The timber-and-stucco buildings that you see in America today are black-and-white only superficially, and are half-timber not at all: both the exposed timbers and the plaster infilling are mere veneers imposed upon the structural members. It was not so in Tudor construction. The timbers then were working members, as thick as the wall was thick, and passing quite through it from surface to surface. The plaster was equally functional, filling, to a thickness of 8 or 10 or even 12 inches, the areas between the oak balks.

There was a delightful informality and home-spun quality about Tudor design and construction. To begin with, the timbers themselves, squared and dressed with axe and adze rather than with machine-saw and planer, varied in width and straightness, and were used just so. The struts were the slightly-curved boughs of trees, selected for their size and shape and used without much trimming. The crooked branches became curved braces or decorative elements. Commenting upon this economical use of material, Harrison, an observant writer of the Elizabethan period, remarked: "And such is their husbandrie in dealing with their timber, that the same stuffe which in time past was rejected as crooked, unprofitable, and to no use but the fire, dooth now come in the fronts and best part of the worke. Whereby the common saing is likewise in these days verified in our mansion-houses, which earst was said onlie of the timber for ships, 'that no oke can grow so crooked but it falleth out to some use.'"

Several years ago, Dr. Adams' researches led to the discovery that the yard of the Globe Playhouse had been paved with brick. Now the standard size for bricks, as set by the Master and Wardens of the Tylers' and Bricklayers' Company in 1567, was $9'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2\frac{1}{4}''$ when burnt. That meant that our little bricks would have to be $3\frac{3}{8}'' \times 3\frac{1}{16}'' \times 3\frac{1}{32}''$ in size. It also meant that we should

need at least 8,600 of them. The bricks are made of pink eraser rubber, cut to scale with jigs of our own devising.

Then there was the question of a pattern for the bricklaying. We felt that the Tudor artisan, with his restless inventiveness, would not be content with a simple and obvious pattern if he could find an intricate and subtle one. We felt also that a pattern was needed which should reflect and respond to the basic octagon of building and yard. And therefore dozens of sketches were made on cross-section paper, and discussed, and rejected, before we were satisfied.

Four different roof-coverings were in use in Tudor England—thatch, sheet lead, tiles, and stone slate—and the model uses three of the four. Thatch was the commonest of them all in Shakespeare's time, and, as you will remember from the story of the burning, is known to have been used on the Globe. Your thatched roof must be a steep roof; so the roofs of the model are pitched at 50 degrees. We made our thatch of balsa wood, glued on in sheets and then shaped with chisel and gouge and rasp and sandpaper, and finally combed with wire brushes to work out some of the soft pulp and to leave a fibrous straw-like surface.

Sheet lead was used on roofs that were very flat, or, like spires, very steep. We decided to represent sheet lead by the use of lead foil on the model, little knowing how scarce a commodity lead foil has become. It simply isn't being made any more; aluminum foil has taken its place on the market. But after a dozen tries we found the last piece of lead foil in New York; it was dug up out of a dusty storeroom at our request.

There's a particularly interesting thing about English roofing-tiles: their dimensions were fixed in 1477 in the reign of Edward V, were retained by Acts of George I and George II some centuries later, and remain unchanged to this day, after nearly 500 years. We transposed those age-old dimensions to the scale of 1 to 24, and then cut our tiles, all 9,500 of them, out of reddish-brown fiber-card. In making the granny-bonnet tiles and the ridge-tiles, we had to delaminate the card and then re-laminate it with new glue, so that it could be pressed into the required channel-like cross-section. And before we could lay the tiles in the roof-valleys, we had to learn the old method of laying the beautiful "laced valleys" used in England in Tudor times.

Whenever we could, we sought authenticity by taking our details directly from measured drawings of Elizabethan prototypes. The frame of the entrance door is taken from the doorway of Ford's Hospital in Coventry, and the door itself from a building in Dorset. The pier-heads that support the Heavens come from the no-longer-existing Town Hall in Hereford; and the bases of the great stage-posts from an unidentified structure dating back to the year 1600.

You have noticed, in the model, the tapestries that enclose the inner stages. Tapestries, and their poor relations, painted cloths, were a part of the everyday furnishings of the Elizabethan home, nearly as much a commonplace as wall-papers are with us today; but they served not merely a decorative purpose, but also the utilitarian purposes of conserving heat, eliminating drafts, and concealing a rough unfinished wall. They were supported at their top edges by tenterhooks, and were hung several inches out from the wall, to prevent their

taking stain or mildew from the wall's dampness; and so, even in homes, they offered a ready place of concealment, just as they so often do on the stage in Shakespearian drama.

Now, in any attempt to use fabrics in a scale model, and particularly if the scale be as small as 1 to 24, you are confronted by the difficulty of getting the fabric to fall in rich heavy folds. If your cloth is thick enough to be opaque, then it is stiff enough to resist falling into the lines of a heavy drapery. Our first attempt was made with a soft thin leather, of the sort used in pipe-organ manufacture, but even that failed to take the heavy folds that we needed. So we finally whittled the draperies from wood, and painted them with water-colors.

The great blue hangings that close off the front of the Study are adapted from tapestries woven in England during Shakespeare's lifetime for William, first Earl of Pembroke. Pembroke was Shakespeare's patron and friend, and was one of the two brothers to whom the First Folio was dedicated by Heminges and Condell.

The little hanging in the center of the rear Chamber wall is copied from an English tapestry of the late 16th century. It shows the Prodigal Son taking leave of his father, a favorite subject with the English tapicers. Twice Shakespeare referred to the parable of the Prodigal Son as a subject for wall-hangings: once in *2 Henry IV*, in these words: ". . . and for thy walls, a pretty slight drollery, or the story of the Prodigal" and in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* in these words: "There's his chamber, his house, his castle, his standing bed and trundle bed. 'Tis painted about with the story of the Prodigal, fresh and new."

The hangings that close off the front of the Chamber, on the second level, show two incidents in the story of Antony and Cleopatra. You will recall the scene in *Cymbeline*, in which Iachimo describes Imogen's bed-chamber:

. . . It was hanged
With tapestry of silk and silver; the story
Proud Cleopatra, when she met her Roman,
And Cydnus swell'd above the banks, or for
The press of boats or pride.

Iachimo's description suggests the possibility that the Globe Playhouse may have had, among its properties, a tapestry picturing Cleopatra's barge; at the very least it proves that Shakespeare had the scene in mind as a tapestry subject. And therefore we made it the subject for one of our wall-hangings; but we pictured the barge, not as it is described in the glowing words of Enobarbus, but as we felt it might have been pictured in the naive and still-primitive art of the English tapicer of the late 16th century.

The rest of the hangings are simple decorative subjects based on Elizabethan originals—all except one, which is adapted from a Flemish tapestry; for vast quantities of tapestries from the Low Countries—as many as one thousand in a single ship-load—poured into England during the reigns of the Tudors.

In one respect the model is misleading: it is far less richly decorated than the Globe Playhouse itself must have been. The Elizabethan era was one of

lavish decoration in architecture. Every available space was crowded with detail of extraordinary variety and fertility in design. Beams and rafters were vigorously chamfered and molded; brackets and corbels, spandrels and bargeboards, all were enriched with endlessly diversified carvings, and painted with brilliant colors and gold. And if this was true of the Elizabethan home, it must have been even more true of the Elizabethan playhouse, for then as now the playhouse tended to be more ornate than a dwelling of the same time and place.

But in the model the decoration has been stated in the simplest possible terms, for more reasons than one. In the first place, the production of carved ornament, in the scale of 1 to 24, would have been an interminable job. It would, furthermore, have been an excursion into the field of sheer conjecture, since not one word has been found about the ornamentation of the Globe, except a suggestion that a zodiac and stars were painted on the Heavens; and finally, it would have invited attention to superficial detail rather than to basic design. So in the model we have used ornament only where ornament could not be avoided: a gay harlequin pattern on the columns, a zodiac in the Heavens, moldings and carvings only here and there. These slight intimations you must build up in your own imaginations, until you see the whole interior rich with carving and color conceived with a playful inventiveness too exuberant to repeat itself, too vigorous to leave any point untouched.

Finally we come to the plump little gentleman who struts alone upon a vast empty stage, with a mug of sack in his hand. It had been our hope to give him some companions from the First Part of *Henry IV*—Bardolph and Poins, Hotspur and Lady Percy, and his friend Prince Hal—but the mere humdrum business of earning a living has taken too much time away from more important things, and Falstaff's friends are still nothing but a gleam in the eye. Perhaps they will come later. In the meantime, Falstaff walks alone, whittled from a piece of soft old pine and painted with casein colors.

Garden City, N. Y.

THE EARLY TUDOR REVELS OFFICE

By ARNOLD EDINBOROUGH

THE OFFICE of the Masks and Revels, though an important part of the Tudor Royal Household, was not officially founded until 1544, when the post of Master was granted to Sir Thomas Cawarden for life, and that of Clerk to Thomas Philips. The function of this new organization was, to quote a document drawn up by one of its later officials, to prepare "all Maskes tryumphs Plaies and other shewes of Dispourte with Banquetting howses and like devises to be used for the Anornements of the Queens Maiesties most loiall Courte and her highnes recreacioun pleasure and pastyme".¹ The seasons when such preparation was necessary were indicated as "Hollontide, Christmas, candlemas, Shroftetide, easter whitsontide Progres and all other tymes accustomed" or when there might be "anye appointment by speciall warraunte, ordre, or the Queenes maiestes pleasure signified by the Lorde Chamberleyne, the vice Chamberleyne, the Master of thoffice, or others in that behalf authorized or assigned" (p. 43). This description of the functions of the office shows how important for dramatic history is the study of the Revels Office accounts. Since they deal with the expenses for "Maskes tryumphs and Plaies" they show the relative popularity of these dramatic forms at various times during the sixteenth century. Again, seeing that "the chief busyness of the office resteth speciallye in three poyntes In making of garmentes In making of hedpeces and in payntinge" (p. 37), we may see how the entertainments were costumed, what sort of properties and stage furniture were available, and what sort of scenery and setting was usual. From such information we may deduce what type of play or entertainment was being performed at those periods from which the texts did not come down to us.

The accounts have of course been investigated from time to time, and various parts of them published. In 1908 Feuillerat published a full selection of the accounts for the reign of Queen Elizabeth,² with many other documents of cognate interest; and in 1914 he did a similar service for the reigns of Edward VI, Mary and Philip.³ In 1917, J. Q. Adams published the account books of Sir Henry Herbert, the last holder of the office of Master of the Revels.⁴ Apart, however, from the highly selective items of Peter Cunningham's *Extracts of the Accounts of the Revels at Court* done in 1842,⁵ and the rather garbled extracts given in Kempe's "Loseley MSS,"⁶ none of the accounts prior to the

¹ Printed in E. K. Chambers, *Notes on the History of the Revels Office under the Tudors* (London, 1906), pp. 42 ff.

² A. E. Feuillerat (ed.), *Documents Relating to the Office of the Revels in the Time of Queen Elizabeth*, Bang's *Materialien*, XXI (Louvain, 1908).

³ A. E. Feuillerat (ed.), *Documents Relating to the Revels at Court in the Time of King Edward VI and Queen Mary*, Bang's *Materialien*, XLIV (Louvain, 1914).

⁴ J. Q. Adams (ed.), *The Dramatic Records of Sir Henry Herbert*, Cornell Studies in English 3 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1917).

⁵ Peter Cunningham, *Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court in the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James I* (London: Shakespeare Society, 1842).

⁶ A. J. Kempe, *Manuscripts Preserved in the Muniment Room at Loseley House* (London, 1836).

reign of Edward VI have been published. These accounts are in the Loseley MSS now at the Folger Library and this paper gives some account of the three major groups of these early Revels documents. These are, firstly, the early inventories of the office; secondly, the accounts of specific court functions from 1540-46; and, finally, the accounts for a banqueting house in 1551 in which Edward VI was to have feasted the French Ambassador.

I

The earliest document in the first group⁷ is an inventory dated December 10, 1542, which is headed "An Invytory of all the kynges bardis ffor horsis covering of bardes baces maskyng garmentes beyng in the custody of John Bryges yoman of the Revelles."⁸ It is significant that at this period the trappings for horses used in ceremonial tilts, and in riding at the barriers, are the first things to be inventoried, and constitute a good part of the Revels store. There are twenty bards (i.e. caparisons) for horses, all of leather, and most of them complete with coverings and bases of elaborate workmanship and costly materials. As one might expect, the embroidered patterns usually have a heraldic significance. Thus we have one covering "of clothe of sylver and Russett velvett embroderyd with the ffawcon and ffettyrlock imbossid with Rosis of cloth of sylver imbossid," the falcon and fetterlock being a badge of Edward IV. Another covering is of "clothe of Sylver and Russett vellvett in panes embroderyd with Lyons, Crownes, and sonne-beamys of gold imbossid." These devices are Richard II's, as are those in another covering "of clothe of Sylver and Russett velvett beryng the whyte Harte with a crowne of gold aboute his neck and a cheyne, with sonne-beamys of gold imbossid." Henry's own silver ostrich feathers figure on another and the "black bull" of Ann Boleyn on yet another. Two coverings "of clothe Tyssue and purple vellvett embroderyd with a Man of armys of Sylver Ryding to a mountayne and a lady standing in clowde casting dartes att hym with hartes and cyffers of golde" seem to be more allegorical than heraldic, and probably underlined the characters of two performers in some pageant.

After the "bardis baces and coverynges" comes a list of masking garments for men, which seem generally to be made in groups of eight, all of rich stuffs and elaborately worked. Some sets are particularised in the inventory, so that we can see what masks they were intended for. Thus we have "viij long garmentes Turkye fflashon paned with crymsen satten and white copper sarcenett, viij Turkye hats to the same, viij peyr of boskyns to the same, and viij peyr of sloppes"⁹ and again, "viij short palmers clokes of Red clothe with compas capys of clothe of sylver and ij whyte laces abowte having the crosse keys, seynt Jamys staff, and skallop shelles of clothe of sylver, viij palmers staffes, vj skripes to the same and vij sheperds hokes." It is obvious that these are intended for masks where eight maskers represent Turks and Palmers; but amongst the women's garments, the entries "viij hye heddes of Duche fflashyn," and "iij Spaynyshe

⁷ Document 3 in the Folger Catalogue of the Loseley Collection.

⁸ For permission to quote from this and other Loseley MSS in the Folger Shakespeare Library, I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. Louis B. Wright, Director.

⁹ Slops usually means trunks, though really any garment that could be slipped on and off quickly was so called.

hats" are not nearly so definitely assignable, as any court character might wear such adornments, whether impersonating Dutchmen or not.

In 1545 another inventory is taken,¹⁰ and we see differences immediately. The bulk of the garments in 1542 had been "longe garmentes," now the majority are short. Most of the sets of 1542, easily identifiable by the detailed descriptions, are marked "old." Yet two things remain constant—the groups of eight garments, and the representation of stock figures. Thus we now have "viij shorte almayne cootes with one great wyde sleve and j small long sleve of Crame colour and Russett damaske, with v huffkin¹¹ hats to the same of the said damaske," and, again, probably for attendants at the same mask: "viiij dubblettes with their placards¹² sloppes and nyght cappes of changeable Taffita stripid upon with gold Dornix blewe¹³ for almayne boyes." There are also "viij ffryers garmentes with ther heddes [i.e. masks], ij of Russitt vellet upon vellet perlyd, ij of whyte vellett, ij of grene vellett, and ij of orange color" and "viiij cassockes short for ffawkeners with hed peces to the same." In place of the 1542 set of Turkish garments (now marked "old") a new set with various embellishments has been made.

The next inventory, printed in Feuillerat,¹⁴ and taken on April 1, 1547, is interesting. It begins with the identical list of bards and bases that headed the roll of the 1542 inventory. Nothing has changed in this list, yet the number of masking garments is very much greater, and the Turkish garments, the "almaynes," and the friars' first noted in 1545 are now marked "not servisable." Obviously, since both bases and masking garments were made of the same materials, the latter have been much more frequently in use than the former. How else may we account for their disproportionate deterioration?

Moreover, though the "almaynes" and Turkish garments are labelled "not servisable," other sets of the same fashion have already taken their place in the main inventory. This strengthens the belief that certain stock figures were common in the Tudor mask—a belief even more strengthened by a glance at Feuillerat's Edward VI volume where we can see that masks of "almaynes," "Turkes," "Maryners," "Moores," and, for women, of "Amazons," are very frequent occurrences. The inventories of 1560 too, taken at the death of Cawarden, show new sets of such garments still being made. Indeed, knowing that these characters were constantly appearing, the official who defined the functions of the Revels Office in the document already quoted, makes provision that "order be given to a connyng paynter to enter in a fayer large ligeward book in the manner of Lymnyng the masks and shoves sett fourthe in that last service to thende varyetye may be used from tyme to tyme."¹⁵

From a consideration of these successive inventories it is obvious that the Tudor mask was usually performed by stock characters such as Turks, Moors, Almaynes, Friars, and the like. This fact may lead us to see more clearly the real connection between the court mask and the traditional folk-plays of Eng-

¹⁰ Document 96.

¹¹ Hats of German fashion.

¹² The stomachers over which the doublet was laced.

¹³ Gold and blue checked linen.

¹⁴ *Revels Documents, Edward VI and Mary*, pp. 9 ff.

¹⁵ Chambers, p. 41.

land, for the similarity between the various opponents of St. George and the characters of the mask here listed is striking. Even more strong a connection is established when we note the recurrent figure, eight, in these inventories. This number is surely chosen as best for the mask since eight was the best number for a basso coranto, the most popular court dance of the period. In other words, the mask was the court version of the partly danced, partly spoken folk plays, where the characters were apparent from their clothes and where the dance was the most important part of the entertainment. This linking with the traditional folk forms shows the mask to be an indigenous English form, and not an importation from Europe as has so often been assumed.¹⁶

Another and less hypothetical point emerges from a consideration of these inventories: by 1544 there is a real need for someone more than a Yeoman tailor to plan and organize the Revels, for the store is rapidly expanding. In 1542, there were about eight complete sets of masking garments for men and four for women; by 1545 there are twenty complete sets of garments. In 1542 there was a small supply of sarcenet and a larger of lawn, making a total of approximately two hundred and fifty yards; by 1545 there are two hundred and six yards of cloth of gold, one hundred and nineteen of cloth of silver, one hundred and eighty of tillsent, three hundred and thirty of satin, and no less than six hundred and fifty of other materials such as sarcenet, taffeta, damask velvet, and lawn. This is six times as much as before, and the store is of richer materials.

II

The second group of documents, those dealing with actual performances from 1540 to 1546, show us how this store of stuffs was used, by giving us the payments to those people whose job it was to furnish forth the masks and plays at the prescribed seasons. These accounts are preserved in a single book for the period 1540 to 1544,¹⁷ and the first one is of "A commaundement gevyn by the kinges grace unto Sir Anthony Browne and so unto me John Bredges . . . to prepayre ordeyne and make in a Redynesse sertayne garmentes or apparell for a play to be don by the children of the chappell before the King on New Yeres daye at his gracious howse of Grenwich after supper." There follows a modest account for the making of four complete suits of white damask, and one long red garment. The play might well have been one of those interludes in which four actors doubled all the parts, and for which only one set of new clothes was needed, the rest being supplied from store. On the following Shrove Monday at Westminster there is a mask for which eight suits are needed, but these are merely made over from existing garments, with the addition of new visors and hoods. On Shrove Tuesday another mask is furnished in the same way, but this time more accessories are bought and the cost is twice as much as the previous evening's. Even so, the total cost of the revels for Christmas and Shrovetide 1540-1541 appears to be the ridiculously small sum of thirty-four pounds and sixpence halfpenny.

There are no accounts for the Christmas-Shrovetide span of 1541-1542, but

¹⁶ On this point cf. H. A. Evans, *English Masques* (London, 1897), pp. xiii ff., and E. K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage* (London, 1903), I, 400 ff. Chambers also gives other references.

¹⁷ Document 2.

Christmas 1542 was a gay time. We have payments for "viij feltes lyck helmettes for men of armys," "viij vesars for mores," "viij vesardes for torcheberers," "viij strawyn hattes," and several costly accoutrements such as "xlviij antique heddes sett on the knees sholders backes and brestes of the men of armys paynted with gold and silver." It would appear that there were certainly two and probably three masks newly furnished for this season, and the carters' wages show that a great deal of stuff was transported from the store to the court. Also, an entry for forty-four Moorish visors would indicate that this was one of those occasions when everyone joined in the dance after the set piece, at the request of the maskers. The whole festivities for the sixteen days cost one hundred and twelve pounds, seventeen shillings and eightpence halfpenny.

Pursuing this course of extravagance, Henry has another brilliant season at Shrovetide, when we have payments for the making of garments for the "almaynes mask" and the "maryner mask." For one of these or both were also provided

viij vezars for the monstrous torche berers and viij heds

at v^s the pece . . . xl^s

xvj yardes of horsemayne for the same torchberers . . . xx^s

viij Dogge cheynes for the same at iiijd the pece . . . ij^sviij^d

and eight dummies made with "Roddes," dressed in "lynyn cloth and skalis [scales] of . . . gold, silver grene and Red papers." These festivities are noteworthy also in that we get the first accounts which refer to the setting in which these antic shapes appeared. The gardeners are given a reward of five shillings for rosemary and bays which are covered with silver to deck the "Cewbort [cupboard] within the bancketting howse," and the "wardens of St. Pulcres for the lone of certen fframes for pageants" are given a similar sum. This last entry establishes a link between the court festivity and the miracle plays, for it shows that the carts on which the churchmen and gildsmen performed their plays rather crudely were at this time equally acceptable as pageants for the more sophisticated masking at court.

The following year, 1544, there are two masks at Hampton Court at Christmastide; two "womens" maskes on New Yeres daie at night"; and an item for a "whery to fetch childernes gere," that is, the furniture for a play perhaps by the Children of the Chapel. There may also have been some tilting since two shillings are expended on "horsemete," or fodder, an unusual and unique entry in these accounts. The total expenses for the whole Christmas season were one hundred and twenty pounds, three shillings and elevenpence.

The increase in activity in these two or three years is very noticeable, and the increase in the holdings of the office has been shown from the inventories. To cope with this expansion we have in this year the appointment of Cawarden as Master, and henceforth John Bridges' name is relegated in the accounts to the top of the roll of tailors. Apart from having the new "dieting charges" for Cawarden as Master, for John Barnard as Clerk-Comptroller, and for John Collyer as Clerk, the accounts for Christmas, 1544, are unilluminating, and give as the total expense the sum of sixty-nine pounds, seventeen shillings and eightpence.

For 1545 the Christmas accounts only are preserved.¹⁸ They are for two masks, one of Egyptian women costing eighty-six pounds, nine shillings and a penny.

In 1546 there is an extensive affair "at thonor of Hampton from the xvijth daie of July . . . unto the vth daie of September next and Immedyatly ffollowing Inclusive Thadmyrall of ffraunce being there with other nobles from thens."¹⁹ To furnish the series of masks that such an occasion warranted we find such compendious entries as:

CC yarde Di. [200½ yds] of golde and sylver lawne sondry making after
ijs iiijd the yarde . . . xxij^{ll} vij^s x^s
ffor xvi Dossen Di of vesars sondry ffashions after xxs doss . . . xvj^{ll} x^s
ffor viij Doss. winge ffethers sondry colors at xx^s the doss. . . viij^{ll}
ffor xxxij perukes for xvj hedpeces for women at vj^s pece. . . ix^{ll} xij^s

and other payments for pieces of lawn, sarcenet, satin, and damask, all more than a hundred yards long. Furthermore, the roof of the banqueting hall was covered with embroidered cloth, and over three hundred pounds was spent in providing various coloured fringes for the cupboards, and for the canopies over the heads of the head-table guests. The total cost for the whole period was close to five hundred pounds.

III

A consideration of the six years' entertainments from 1540-1546 makes us realise that the court is by now used to a lavish scale of revelling, richly costumed, in a sumptuous setting; that the mask is much more popular than the play, for here we have accounts for sixteen masks and only one (or perhaps two) plays; and that the sumptuousness of the setting is not in any sense representational, as it was later to become under Inigo Jones.

This is proved very clearly by the third set of documents which, though from Edward VI's reign, were not printed by Feuillerat, since he deemed them of no interest to the student of the drama. These documents²⁰ are the extensive accounts for the erecting of a "Bancketting Howse" in Hyde Park for the entertainment of the Maréchal de St. André, ambassador from France, in July and August 1551. Apart from their intrinsic interest, it is notable that although most of the money was actually paid out by Richard Bradshaw, the Surveyor of the King's Works, it was the Revels Office which had control of the whole thing, which authorised the payments, and recorded them.

The "bancketting howse" was sixty-two feet long and twenty-one feet wide, constructed of good solid birch, elm, and deal boards, and cost a total of two hundred and twenty-five pounds. To decorate the structure Cawarden himself took control, exercising his authority through two "Seargeant painters," Antony Totto and John Leeds. First of all there was "keveryng [covering?] payntyng gyldyng garnesing bowghing [hanging with boughs] and other things"; then there was the making of innumerable badges, coats of arms, and moulds for

¹⁸ Document 13.

¹⁹ Document 14.

²⁰ Documents 36, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111.

flowers; the "sewing of Ruffes and bordures"; and the transportation of "the Riche hangynges from the blake fryers to Hyde Parke." But in addition to all this, Christopher Harness, the gardener at Westminster, was called in to supply flowers from his own gardens and to send out and about to buy more. From such now unlikely places as Lambeth, Hackney, Islington, and Battersea came over a hundred bushels of roses and rosebuds, enormous quantities of marigolds, honeysuckle, and "gillofloures," and a great supply of savory herbs such as marjoram, centaury and sweet basil. To set all these off, three cartloads of ivy came from Fulham, and a host of people were employed to make garlands and nosegays. In all, over a hundred people worked for thirty days to adorn this medium-sized banquetting house. The pity of it is that as soon as the Ambassador landed the "Sweating sickness" broke out with savage intensity, and all these elaborate preparations were rendered useless, since Edward removed to Hampton Court out of danger. As a result there were no masks performed in this floreate setting. The only reference to any entertainment of the Marshall is in Edward's own journal when he notes that they saw "some pastime"²¹ after supper one night, but he does not give any details.

It must be borne in mind that this banquetting house was designed to impress a foreign ambassador primarily, not to provide an appropriate backcloth for whatever plays might be performed. And that such lavishness on the part of the Revels Office was the accepted method of making an impression, is seen very readily everywhere in Stowe or Halle. Indeed the political significance of the Revels Office was well known and understood by Edward's advisers as the accounts for the Lord of Misrule at Christmas 1551-1552 and 1552-1553 show.

IV

If we now look back and review this decade of activity in the Revels Office, we see certain facts emerge which help our understanding of the growth of Tudor Drama. We notice first, perhaps, that the mask is becoming more lavish and is ousting the play (or interlude) from court. The time is ripe for a change in approach if the serious and legitimate drama is to survive; it must become more energetic and spectacular. Secondly, although the mask is becoming more lavish, it still retains its traditional dance form, often with its traditional eight participants. Thirdly, there is no mention of scenery or machines at this point, although the costumes are, in many cases, representational. In sum, now that there is a formal Revels Office organization, the Master, in taking over the disports at court, increases them, elaborates them, and improves them. But he still conservatively retains the original forms.

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²¹ J. G. Nichols (ed.), *Literary Remains of Edward VI* (Roxburghe Club, 1857) II, 327.

SONNET 15

WHEN I consider every thing that growes
Holds in perfection but a little moment.
That this huge stage presenteth nought but shoves
Whereon the Stars in secret influence comment.
When I perceive that men as plants increase,
Cheared and checkt even by the selfe-same skie:
Vaunt in their youthfull sap, at height decrease,
And were their brave state out of memory.
Sets the conceit of this inconstant stay,
Sets you most rich in youth before my sight,
Where wastfull time debateth with decay
To change your day of youth to sullied night,
And all in war with Time for love of you
As he takes from you, I ingraft you new.

BOLINGBROKE'S "DECISION"

By BRENTS STIRLING

WHEN interpreting *Richard II* we are aware, of course, that the king's dethronement was a symbol of challenge to royal authority during Elizabeth's reign, that the deposition scene was censored in certain editions, and that because of its connotations, the play was used by the Essex conspirators to set off their abortive rising. It is not that *Richard II* contained unorthodox political doctrine; on the contrary, in the deposition scene itself Carlisle proclaims that no subject may judge a king and that, should Bolingbroke be crowned, "The blood of English shall manure the ground,/ And future ages groan for this foul act."

Throughout Shakespeare's cycle of history plays this prophecy of Carlisle is recalled again at intervals to give unity and meaning to the whole. In *Henry V* the burden of the king's prayer at the play's high point of suspense before Agincourt is "Not today, Lord,/ O, not today, think not upon the fault/ My father made in compassing the crown!" This is but one of the commonly recognized allusions in Shakespeare which hark back to the usurpation by Bolingbroke of Richard's throne. The deed was viewed by Tudor historians as a kind of secular fall of man which tainted generations unborn until England was redeemed from consequent civil war by appearance of the Tudor Messiah, Henry Earl of Richmond. The doctrine of *Richard II* and the succeeding plays is thus wholly conventional, and the uneasiness which led to banning of the deposition scene must have been evoked, not by any avowed point of view in the play, but by the fact that its theme of usurpation was an issue too critical even to be presented with conservative commentary.

It is well understood that this attitude of concern could have been derived from the characterization which accompanies Shakespeare's presentation of history. Without authority from the established sources, Shakespeare's Richard becomes a royal sentimentalist, a defeatist who resigns the throne as though he preferred acting a rôle of tragedy to one of governing men. With warrant from these sources, Shakespeare's Bolingbroke becomes a victim of extortion who takes over a kingship already bankrupt from abuse and incompetency, and in the play both the extortion and the defunct kingship are dramatically magnified. Carlisle's castigation of Bolingbroke for the "foul act" of revolution is thus easy to interpret as a concession to authority, as a piece of stiff morality almost intrusive in Shakespeare's active world of mixed right and wrong where characters are not to be measured by rigid moral standards.

The only difficulty with such an interpretation is that it is too simple. Granted, it rejects a form of criticism which disregards the tangle of events in which Bolingbroke acted, and would find Shakespeare's moral in Carlisle's prophecy alone. But while rejecting one form of simplicity it substitutes another in introducing the principle that men are too complex to be judged strictly, a point of view long useful in Shakespeare study, but unfortunately misused by

those who consider complexity of character to be incompatible, at least in drama, with clear moral judgement.

There will be an assumption in this essay that the political moral of *Richard II* can be described adequately only in terms of the play itself, that the structure of the idea and the structure of the play are inseparable, as they need to be in all good dramatic art. But this uncontroversial premise does not imply that Shakespeare's meaning lacks precision. If we postpone conclusions until we have traced his idea in terms of dramatic action and characterization, it is possible that it will emerge not only as more mature than Carlisle's absolutism, but as less confused than the moral tangle which results if Carlisle's judgment is minimized. It is possible, moreover, that the dramatic structure and motivation of *Richard II* will likewise be found clearer and more mature than before, and the play may thus emerge in several new ways as a landmark in Shakespeare's early development as a dramatist.

In II. i, as resistance against Richard takes form, Northumberland first tells us of the purpose entertained by Bolingbroke's faction:

If then we shall shake off our slavish yoke,
Imp out our drooping country's broken wing,
Redeem from broking pawn the blemished crown,
Wipe off the dust that hides our sceptre's gilt
And make high majesty look like itself.

So far, nothing of deposition; Northumberland's statement is the first of many which stress a goal modestly short of the throne. Two scenes later Bolingbroke's suit is pressed again; the place is Gloucestershire where the insurgent forces encounter old York, regent in Richard's absence. To York's charge of treason "in braving arms against thy sovereign" the reply by Bolingbroke is that he "was banish'd Hereford" but returns "for Lancaster," that he remains a subject of the king, and that having been denied "attorneys" for lawful redress, he has appeared in person. Before Bolingbroke's assembled power which belies his peaceful aims, and before the claim for Henry's inheritance rights, York stands as the absolutist, the strict constructionist:

My lords of England, let me tell you this;
I have had feeling of my cousin's wrongs
And labour'd all I could to do him right;
But in this kind to come, in braving arms,
Be his own carver and cut out his way,
To find out right with wrong, it may not be.

Thus in a scene of unusual strength are the rebels confronted with clear disposition of their pragmatic notions of morality and justice. Ironically, however, in the lines which follow, York collapses pathetically and almost absurdly:

But if I could, by Him that gave me life,
I would attach you all and make you stoop
Unto the sovereign mercy of the king;
But since I cannot, be it known to you
I do remain as neuter.

This luxury of neutrality is denied to York, however, in Bolingbroke's request that he accompany the rebels to Bristol in order to "weed and pluck away" Bushy and Bagot, the "caterpillars of the commonwealth." York, the erstwhile absolutist, cannot even decide this incidental issue: "It may be I will go with you; but yet I'll pause; / For I am loath to break our country's laws." And in any event, "Things past redress are now with me past care."

In the first two scenes of Act III Shakespeare now presents Bolingbroke and Richard in characterization which emphasizes the utter difference in temperament between them; then, having shown each individually in parallel scenes, he brings them together for an episode in which the issue of deposition is determined, an issue which arises naturally and dramatically as a direct result of character clash. Dramatic structure, characterization, and presentation of idea (the deposition theme) are thus fused to the extent that none of these qualities can properly be discussed without reference to the others.

Scene i presents Bolingbroke, and in keeping with the character it is short and concentrated. It opens in the midst of events with Henry's terse "Bring forth these men"; Bushy and Green are then presented for his brief but unhurried recitation of the counts against them: they have misled and "disfigur'd clean" the king; they have "made a divorce betwixt his queen and him"; they have forced Bolingbroke to taste "the bitter bread of banishment" and disinheritance. These deeds condemn them to death. "My Lord Northumberland, see them dispatch'd." Next, the queen must be remembered; to York: "Fairly let her be entreated." And lastly Owen Glendower and his forces must be met; unhurried orders are so given. In a little over forty lines Bolingbroke has passed a death sentence, attended to the amenities of courtesy, and has set a campaign in motion.

Scene ii presents Richard and his retinue in a parallel situation, and the contrast of this episode with Bolingbroke's scene lies in its portrayal of the king, initially by soliloquies of self regard, then by wordy defiance which collapses as Richard learns of the Welsh defection, and finally by near hysteria as Aumerle cautions, "Comfort my liege; remember who you are." As Scroop enters with worse news, Richard proceeds from the false stoicism of anticipated defeat into insults directed at his absent favorites, and back again into sentimental despair:

Let's choose executors and talk of wills;
And yet not so; for what can we bequeath
Save our deposed bodies to the ground?
Our lands, our lives, and all are Bolingbroke's.

The word "deposed" is repeated three times as a kind of refrain in the next few lines as Richard offers to "sit upon the ground/ And tell sad stories of the death of kings." A short speech of defiance as Carlisle warns against this sitting and wailing of woes, and a final descent into sentimental resignation as Scroop reports the joining of York with Bolingbroke, these acts complete Richard's performance in the scene. Lest our account of it end by being merely descriptive, two factors of Shakespeare's inventiveness should be set forth; to Holinshed's version of Richard's misfortune he adds the king's embracing of deposition far

in advance of demand or suggestion,¹ and this external behavior he shows to be derived from motives of playing the martyr's role. The scene to come is thus inevitable; Richard in effect will depose himself in an agony of play-acting before the unsentimental Bolingbroke. But Shakespeare reserves a surprise; not the realist but the sentimentalist will call the turn.

The dramatic situation created for this event in the episode before Flint Castle is thus one of encounter between a self-contained realist who has come but "for his own" and an emotional defeatist who has determined to give him everything. And at the end of the Flint scene Shakespeare will answer with clear irony our question: *when* did Bolingbroke, after all his protests to the contrary, decide to seize the crown? For one point of the play, it will appear, is that this question has no point.

In a literal reading, Bolingbroke makes no decision prior to Act IV, and there he is scarcely more than at hand to take the throne. Now this set of facts is subject to several interpretations. First, we may assume that prior to the deposition scene there is no stage of the play at which the deviousness of Bolingbroke becomes clear, that there are obvious *lacunae* between his disclaimers of ambition in the first three acts and his sudden coronation in Act IV. In that event *Richard II* is just a bad play, and the fact that Henry's coronation is also sudden in the chronicles does not make it better. Or, secondly, we may assume that the historical reputation of Bolingbroke would have led an Elizabethan audience to recognize that his denials of royal ambition were insincere, and that he intended from the beginning to be king.² This could be the case, but the play, at least to us, would still be the worse for it. Nor is it Shakespeare's custom to allow major characterization to rest upon undramatized historical background, this in spite of occasional statements to the contrary. Finally, a third explanation of our "indecisive" Bolingbroke is that opportunism, of which he becomes the living symbol, is essentially a tacit vice: that although the opportunist is aware in a sense of the ends to which his means commit him, he relies upon events, not upon declarations, to clarify his purposes. On the basis of the scene before Flint Castle (III. iii) and of two prominent episodes which follow it, I believe that the interpretation just expressed is one which fits the dramatic facts.

By the time the Flint scene opens we are aware of Richard's impulses toward virtual abdication, but Bolingbroke has never exceeded his demands for simple restitution of rank and estate. Nor have his followers done so. True, we have heard York tell him that his very appearance in arms is treason, but Bolingbroke's rejoinder to this was both disarming and apparently genuine. At Flint, however, dramatic suggestion begins to take shape. As Henry's followers parley before the castle, Northumberland lets slip the name "Richard" unaccompanied

¹ See Boswell-Stone, *Shakespeare's Holinshed* (London, 1896). It is true that the chronicles show Richard in an early state of despair, but with no preconception of dethronement (p. 106), and in a mood, much later, of willingness to abdicate after arrival in London (p. 113). Shakespeare, however, presents a king determined to abdicate as early as the landing in Wales (III.ii), before Richard has even encountered Bolingbroke, and continues to portray him in this mood from there onward.

² Samuel Daniel indicates that in Shakespeare's time Bolingbroke's motives were commonly viewed as suspect. He develops the subject at some length (*Civil Wars*, Book I, Stanzas 87-99) and concludes that, in charity, judgment should be suspended on the issue of whether Henry intended originally to seize the throne.

by its title of king. York reproves him with a remark that such brevity once would have seen Northumberland shortened by a head's length. Bolingbroke intercedes: "Mistake not, uncle, further than you should." To which York: "Take not, cousin, further than you should." This suggestive colloquy is followed by Bolingbroke's characteristic statement of honest intention: "Go to . . . the castle . . . and this deliver: Henry Bolingbroke/ On both his knees does kiss King Richard's hand/ And sends allegiance and true faith of heart/ To his most royal person." He will lay down his arms provided only that his lands are restored and his banishment repealed. If not, war is the alternative. With dramatic significance, however, Northumberland, who bears this message from a Bolingbroke "on both his knees," fails himself to kneel before Richard and thus becomes again the medium of "unconscious" disclosure. Richard, in a rage, sends word back to Henry that "ere the crown he looks for live in peace,/ Ten thousand bloody crowns of mothers' sons" shall be the price in slaughter. Northumberland's rejoinder is a yet more pious assertion of Bolingbroke's limited aims: "The King of heaven forbid our lord the King/ Should so with civil and uncivil arms/ Be rush'd upon! Thy thrice noble cousin/ Harry Bolingbroke . . . swears . . . his coming hath no further scope/ Than for his lineal royalties."

Richard's response is to grant the demands, to render a wish in soliloquy that he be buried where his subjects "may hourly trample on their sovereign's head," and, when summoned to the "base court," to cry out symbolically that down, down he comes "like glist'ring Phaeton,/ Wanting the manage of unruly jades." He enters the base court, and the scene concludes with a priceless mummerly of sovereignty, each participant speaking as a subject to his king.

Boling. Stand all apart,
And show fair duty to His Majesty. [*He kneels down.*]
My gracious lord—

K. Rich. Fair Cousin, you debase your princely knee
To make the base earth proud with kissing it.
Me rather had my heart might feel your love
Than my displeased eye see your courtesy.
Up, Cousin, up. Your heart is up, I know,
Thus high at least, although your knee be low.

Boling. My gracious lord, I come but for mine own.

K. Rich. Your own is yours, and I am yours, and all.

Boling. So far be mine, my most redoubted lord,
As my true service shall deserve your love.

K. Rich. Well you deserve. They well deserve to have
That know the strong'st and surest way to get. . . .
Cousin, I am too young to be your father,
Though you are old enough to be my heir.
What you will have, I'll give, and willing too,
For do we must what force will have us do.
Set on toward London, Cousin, is it so?

Boling. Yea, my good lord.

K. Rich. Then I must not say no.

There is no question of what "London" means. It is dethronement for Richard and coronation for Bolingbroke, an implication which is plain enough here but

which Shakespeare underscores in the very next scene where the Gardener, asked by the Queen (line 77), "Why dost thou say King Richard is deposed?" concludes his explanation with "Post you to London, and you will find it so." Bolingbroke's answer to Richard, "Yea, my good lord," is the aptly timed climax of the Flint episode, and of the play. With this oblique admission, coming with great effect immediately after his statement of loyalty and subjection, Henry's purposes become clear, and the significant fact is that not he but Richard has phrased his intent. The king's single line, "Set on towards London, cousin, is it so?" is the ironic instrument for exposing a long line of equivocation which the rebels seem to have concealed even from themselves.³ And in dramatic fact, Bolingbroke is still trying to conceal it; his short answer is the minimum articulation of his conduct, an opportunist's falling back upon "what must be" in order to evade a statement of purpose.

The quality of this turn in the play rests upon a skillful fusion of plot unfoldment, disclosure of political "moral," and characterization, all of which present parallel irony. In plotting, first among these ingredients, the end of the Flint scene is the point at which conflicting forces reach their determination in a climactic disclosure of Henry's true purpose. But this climax is also a studied anticlimax, for the rebels advance upon Flint Castle only, as it were, to find it abandoned with the words, "Come to London," written upon the walls. They, and the audience, had expected not quiet exposure of their aims (the actual climax) but dramatic opportunity for "constitutional" manifestoes.

As for disclosure of political meaning, the second element here, it is during the encounter at Flint that the rebels achieve their most eloquent statement of legality in seeking only a subject's claim to justice from his king. But the luxury of that statement collapses at the end of the scene, again with the word "London." It becomes suddenly apparent that York's previous judgment was sound, that Bolingbroke's use of force to gain just concessions from his sovereign has committed him to the destruction of sovereignty.

The third component at the end of the Flint scene is characterization, a quality which is the basis for all the drama and irony in the direction the play has taken. Shakespeare's prior establishment of Bolingbroke's realism, self-containment, and resourcefulness, along with Richard's romantic defeatism, near-hysteria, and pathetic reliance upon others, has furnished a decided pattern for the meeting of the two at Flint. Bolingbroke and Northumberland thus fulfill their previously set traits of stability and restraint; Richard repeats the performance he had enacted before his own followers in the preceding scene, a performance which richly justifies the description of him by one critic as an inveterate spectator at his own tragedy. Full characterization of Bolingbroke and Richard, both before and during the Flint Castle episode, thus provides all of the expansiveness which is so deliberately deflated in the last lines. There, with Richard's knowing reference to London and Bolingbroke's one-line reply, the ironic shift in characterization materializes. The unstable Richard, who had fled from facts through every form of emotional exaggeration, now drops his sentimental role and states the truth of his position with quiet wit and

³ Self-delusion on Bolingbroke's part is a trait clearly suggested by Daniel in his enigmatic stanzas on Henry's motives (*Civil Wars*, Book I, Stanzas 90-91). I mention this only to show that such an interpretation was made overtly at the time *Richard II* was written.

candor; the plain-dealing Bolingbroke who had offered his demands with such consistency and seeming honesty, now admits his sham of rebellion which was to stop short of rebellion.

The end of Act III, scene iii, is thus a pivotal stage of *Richard II*. Here, upon a question asked by the king and an answer given by Henry, the trend of the play becomes dramatically apparent in plot, in political meaning, and in ultimate characterization. We have also observed that perhaps the main achievement at this point of multiple effect has been a disclosure of ambiguity in Henry Bolingbroke. In concluding this essay I hope to show that, by the time Shakespeare's portrait of Bolingbroke is completed, this ambiguity is presented twice again by means of the same dramatic method.

The first of these repetitions occurs in IV. i (the deposition) which runs directly parallel to the Flint Castle scene. Here again we have Richard confronted by the rebels, and here also he is in turn both defiant and submissive; his sentimental display is likewise in dramatic contrast with Henry's simplicity, forbearance, and directness. But again in the closing lines the paradox comes.

K. Rich. I'll beg one boon,
And then be gone and trouble you no more.
Shall I obtain it?

Boling. Name it, fair Cousin.

K. Rich. "Fair Cousin"? I am greater than a king.
For when I was a king, my flatterers
Were then but subjects. Being now a subject,
I have a King here to my flatterer.
Being so great, I have no need to beg.

Boling. Yet ask.

K. Rich. And shall I have?

Boling. You shall.

K. Rich. Then give me leave to go.

Boling. Whither?

K. Rich. Whither you will, so I were from your sights.

Boling. Go, some of you convey him to the Tower.

Just as at the end of III. iii, "London" meant deposition, so here the Tower means imprisonment and ultimate death. This colloquy between the king and his adversary is exactly parallel in technique to the one which concluded the scene at Flint. In it Richard, who has again run his course of theatrical emotion, now becomes pointedly realistic; in it Bolingbroke, who has again exhibited every sign of gracious honesty, reveals duplicity in a concluding line.

There remains a third and final step in the portrayal of Henry which is analogous in all essentials to the two scenes we have examined. The fact that Shakespeare here drew upon the chronicles might imply that he found in them a suggestion of Bolingbroke's taciturnity marked by sudden revelations of shifting purpose. Piers of Exton, in the short fourth scene of Act V, ponders something he has heard. "Have I no friend will rid me of this living fear?" Was not that what the new king said? And did he not repeat it? Exton satisfies himself that Bolingbroke did so and convinces himself that in the saying of it Henry "wistly look'd on me." It is enough, for Exton promptly murders Richard and returns with the body. Henry's lines which conclude the play are

well known; he admits desiring Richard's death but disowns Exton's act and pledges expiation in a voyage to the Holy Land.

Three times—at the end of the Flint Castle scene, at the end of the deposition scene, and in the Exton scenes at the end of the play—Henry has taken, if it may be so called, a decisive step. Each time the move he has made has been embodied in a terse statement, and each time another has either evoked it from him or stated its implications for him. Never, in an age of drama marked by discursive self-revelation, has a character disclosed his traits with such economy and understatement. The Elizabethan character with a moral contradiction usually explains his flaw before, during, and after the event. And at length. Until the short choral "confession" at the very end of the play, Bolingbroke, however, exhibits his deviousness in one-line admissions spaced at intervals which are aptly arranged in parallel series for cumulative effect. And while each of these admissions marks a step in characterization, it indicates at the same time a critical stage of plot development. The conflict of forces is resolved with the line on London concluding the Flint Castle scene, for there Richard and Henry reach mutual understanding on the dethronement issue which the king alone has previously entertained. The falling action becomes defined with the line near the end of the deposition scene which sends Richard to the Tower. The catastrophe is precipitated by the line to Exton which sends him to death.

Finally, at each of these three points of characterization and plot unfolding the doctrine implicit in the play evolves to a new clarity. At Henry's line on London at Flint Castle it becomes apparent that a "constitutional" show of force against sovereignty leads inevitably to the deposition of sovereignty; at Henry's line in the dethronement scene it appears that deposition of sovereignty requires imprisonment and degradation of the sovereign; and at Henry's line to Exton it becomes plain that murder of sovereignty must be the final outcome. The chronicle accounts of Richard's latter days disclose neither a suggestion of these cumulative steps nor a basis for Bolingbroke's over-insistence on lawful aims which dramatically precedes them; we learn only that Henry returned vowing allegiance and shortly became king (Boswell-Stone, pp. 109 ff.). As usual, a play-source comparison emphasizes Shakespeare's artistry both in structure and motivation.⁴

In passages such as Ulysses' lines on degree in *Troilus and Cressida* Shakespeare excels in a poet's expression of Tudor political dogma. In *Richard II*, however, and early in his career, he shows control of a much more difficult art, that of revealing doctrine integrally with progressive growth of plot and of characterization. With our debt to the English and American revolutions we cannot admire the doctrine as such, but we can recognize in *Richard II* a stage of Shakespeare's development at which, so far as fundamentals are concerned, political morality and artistry become inseparable.

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⁴ Daniel (*Civil Wars*, Books I and II, London, 1595) likewise fails to present Bolingbroke's opportunistic conduct in the telling manner of Shakespeare. He does amply suggest the possibility of "unconscious" drift toward usurpation but in no way dramatizes this action in successive steps of cumulative disclosure. Daniel is not to be regarded with certainty as a source of Shakespeare; it is possible that similarities between the *Civil Wars* and *Richard II* are to be accounted for by Daniel having seen the play. But, in any event, a comparison of Shakespeare and Daniel is revealing.

JOAN OF ARC IN SHAKESPEARE, SCHILLER, AND SHAW

By FREDERICK S. BOAS

FOREWORD

When the Editor of *Shakespeare Quarterly* was good enough to invite me to contribute to the opening 1951 number, I thought it might be of some interest to show that the presentation of Joan of Arc in *1 Henry VI*, as compared with those of her by Schiller and Bernard Shaw, has still, though crude, its own value. Since the posting of my manuscript and the receipt of a proof we have had to mourn the loss of the great dramatist, whom I met for many years at the Malvern Dramatic Festival, where I saw the successful revival of *Saint Joan*. May this article also serve as a slight tribute to his magnetic powers!

THE First Folio of Shakespeare's plays in 1623 included three plays dealing with the ill-fated reign of Henry VI. They are known as *King Henry VI, Parts 1, 2, and 3*. Part 1 had not been previously published. Parts 2 and 3 had appeared in quarto form as *The First Part of the Contention of York and Lancaster* (1594) and *The True Tragedy of Richard Duke of York* (1595). The generally accepted view at present is that these were not earlier versions of *Henry VI, Parts 2 and 3*, but "bad quartos" of those two plays, which were probably produced in 1590-1. It seems probable also that *1 Henry VI* followed and did not precede Parts 2 and 3. It was produced by Philip Henslowe on March 3, 1592, at the Rose Theatre, where it was acted by Lord Strange's men. It deals with the earlier events of Henry's reign, especially the war in France, where Lord Talbot is the protagonist on the English side and Joan of Arc on the French. And there can be little doubt that the representation of Joan, however crude and harsh it may seem today, won hearty plaudits from the groundlings of the Rose Theatre. Critics have naturally been anxious to dissociate Shakespeare's name from what now seems a repellent picture of Joan, and the authorship of the different scenes in *1 Henry VI* is uncertain. But in any case Shakespeare's fellows, Heminge and Condell, thought well to include the play in the Folio under his name, and the portrait may be taken as representing the current view of the Maid among the London populace in the years soon after the defeat of the Armada. The basis of the play is to be found in Holinshed's *Chronicles*, 2nd edition, 1589, but the dramatist treated it freely.

Joan la Pucelle is introduced in I. ii. After the death of Henry V, the French, as is reported by a series of messengers in Scene i, had revolted from English rule. Charles the Dauphin has had himself proclaimed King, and with the Dukes of Alençon and Anjou is seeking in October 1428 to raise the siege of Orleans which is being hard pressed by the English army. Dunois, the Bastard of Orleans, enters with good news.¹

¹ Quotations are in modern spelling and punctuation.

A holy maid hither with me I bring,
Which by a vision sent to her from heaven
Ordained is to raise this tedious siege
And drive the English forth the bounds of France.

(I. ii. 51-54)

Charles bids her be called in, and to test her skill in divination orders Reignier, the Duke of Anjou, to stand as Dauphin in his place. But Joan sees through the trick.

Reignier, is't thou that thinkest to beguile me?
Where is the Dauphin? Come, come from behind;
I know thee well, though never seen before.
Be not amazed, there's nothing hid from me.

(I. ii. 65-68)

She tells her strange story:

Dauphin, I am by birth a shepherd's daughter,
My wit untrained in any kind of art.
.
Lo while I waited on my tender lambs
And to sun's parching heat display'd my cheeks,
God's mother deigned to appear to me,
And in a vision full of majesty
Will'd me to leave my base vocation
And free my country from calamity,
Her aid she promised and assured success.

(I. ii. 72-82)

Charles is astonished, as he well may be, with her "high terms" and to prove her valor dares her to a single combat with himself, in which she overcomes, till he cries:

Stay, stay, thy hands! thou art an Amazon,
And fightest with the sword of Deborah.
Joan. Christ's mother helps me, else I were too weak.

(I. ii. 103-105)

Charles declares himself her servant, not her sovereign, and remains so long in talk with her that the Duke of Anjou interrupts to ask whether they should give over the attempt to raise the siege. Joan bursts forth:

Fight till the last gasp; I will be your guard.
.
Assigned am I to be the English scourge.
This night the siege assuredly I'll raise.

(I. ii. 126, 129-130)

She is as good as her word, and in Scene vi she enters on the walls of the house with the Dauphin and proclaims: "Advance our waving colours on the walls; /

Rescued is Orleans from the English" (I. vi. 1-2). The Dauphin voices his gratitude in a speech of lyrical ecstasy:

'Tis Joan, not we, by whom the day is won;
For which I will divide my crown with her,
And all the priests and friars in my realm
Shall in procession sing her endless praise.

(I. vi. 17-20)

But in II. i, the English under the leadership of Talbot retrieve their defeat, and the French leap over the walls in their shirts. This episode is here unhistoric, though suggested by Holinshed's account of the English recapture of Le Mans. But it gives the dramatist the opportunity of showing the fickleness of Charles who now turns angrily upon the Maid:

Is this thy cunning, thou deceitful dame?
Didst thou at first, to flatter us withal,
Make us partakers of a little gain,
That now our loss might be ten times so much?

(II. i. 50-53)

Joan answers mildly: "Wherefore is Charles impatient with his friend? / At all times will you have my power alike?" (II. i. 54-55) The swift reversals of fortune in and before Orleans are repeated in III. ii in and before Rouen. Joan contrives an entrance into the city, which is held by the English, by means of a stratagem where her rustic origin helps her. She appears before the gates in disguise, with four soldiers carrying sacks, whom she bids, "Talk like the vulgar sort of market-men / That come to gather money for their corn" (III. ii. 4-5). One of the soldiers asserts with a characteristic Elizabethan pun: "Our sacks shall be a mean to sack the city, / And we be lords and rulers over Rouen" (III. ii. 10-11). When the watch asks, "Qui va là?" Joan replies:

Paysans, pauvres gens de France:
Poor market folks that come to sell their corn.
Watch. Enter, go in; the market-bell is rung.

(III. ii. 13-16)

Once inside the city the Maid appears on the top, i.e. on the upper stage, "thrusting out a torch burning" as a signal to her friends to enter. She flings taunts at the English leaders: "Good morrow, gallants! want ye corn for bread? / . . . 'Twas full of darnel; do you like the taste?" (III. ii. 41-44) Talbot retorts by calling her "Foul fiend of France, and hag of all despite / Encompass'd with thy lustful paramours!" (III. ii. 52-53) For in this Elizabethan play, though the courage and shrewdness of Joan are brought into prominence, she is represented throughout as a woman of unchaste life. Not only in this but in the episodes at Rouen the dramatist is false to history. The city was never surprised by a stratagem and afterwards retaken, though here again in the story of the counterfeit peasants he adapts an episode in Holinshed connected with the capture of a castle elsewhere. There is another violation of history when in

III. iii Joan is made the instrument by her eloquence of detaching the Duke of Burgundy from his alliance with the English. The change of front by this great Duke was an all-important factor in the war, but it did not take place till 1435, while Joan met her end on May 30, 1431. The death of Talbot "the great Alcides of the field," which was another factor in the final triumph of the French, is also much antedated in IV. vii, where he cannot survive the death of his son, John Talbot, slain in action near Bordeaux.

Joan's career in arms was now nearing its end. During a sally from Compiègne she was taken prisoner on May 23, 1430. In V. iii, when she finds the French soldiers flying, she appeals to her supposed confederates, the fiends of hell, to appear and aid her in her enterprise. Her familiar spirits enter at her summons, but they keep silence, and at her adjurations they merely hang and shake their heads. And when she finally cries:

Then take my soul, my body, soul, and all,
Before that England give the French the foil.

(V. iii. 22-23)

they take their departure. In a hand-to-hand fight with the Duke of York she is taken prisoner. To the taunts of her captor she replies with curses, till York shrieks:

Fell banning hag, enchantress, hold thy tongue!

Joan. I prithee give me leave to curse a while.

York. Curse, miscreant, when thou comest to the stake.

(V. iii. 42-44)

It is the first mention of the fell doom that awaits her, and it is echoed in the opening line of the next scene (V. iv. 1), when York orders: "Bring forth that sorceress, condemn'd to burn." The First Folio dramatist omits all the intervening process, of which Holinshed gives an account, when Joan was examined by the Bishop of Beauvais and condemned to perpetual imprisonment on condition that she should abjure her "pernicious practices of sorcerie and witcherie." It was after what was accounted to be a relapse into her former state that she was delivered over to the secular arm for execution. To give a final touch to her iniquities, the dramatist, without any hint from Holinshed, makes Joan a heartless snob. Her father finds her at this dread moment and offers to die with her. But she repudiates him:

Base, ignoble wretch,
I am descended of a gentler blood:
Thou art no father and no friend of mine.

(V. iv. 7-9)

She persists in denying him till he too turns against her: "Dost thou deny thy father, cursed drab? / O burn her, burn her! hanging is too good" (V. iv. 32-33). When York cries "Away with her," she rises for a few moments to a lofty strain and declares herself:

Virtuous and holy; chosen from above
 By inspiration of celestial grace
 To work exceeding miracles on earth,
 I never had to do with wicked spirits:

No, misconceived, Joan of Arc hath been
 A virgin from her tender infancy,
 Chaste and immaculate in very thought;
 Whose maiden blood, thus rigorously effused,
 Will cry for vengeance at the gates of heaven.

(V. iv. 39-53)

But when Warwick brutally cries: "Hark ye, sirs; because she is a maid / Spare for no fagots, let there be enow" (V. iv. 55-56), her courage, which even her enemies could not deny, breaks down, and in the hope of escaping the worst doom, she declares that she is with child, first by the Duke of Alençon and then by Reignier, King of Naples. But even this plea avails nothing, and with curses on her lips she is led out to execution, while York pronounces her epitaph: "Break thou in pieces and consume to ashes / Thou foul accursed minister of hell" (V. iv. 92-93). And without further ado Cardinal Beaufort enters to make proposals for a general peace between England and France.

Such is the portrait of La Pucelle in the First Folio play and ascribed by the editors of it to Shakespeare. The dramatist, while he takes Holinshed's *Chronicles* as his basis, makes, as has been shown, very free with chronology, and with episodes in the Anglo-French war. So far, however, he does not overstep the license which every historical dramatist can fairly claim. And though he omits important events, the crowning of Charles at Rheims, and the examination of Joan by the Bishop, he does not violently distort historical facts.

The characterization of the Maid corresponds in certain points with reality. She is courageous, shrewd, and convinced of her divine mission to save France. On the other hand she is represented as unchaste, coarse of tongue, and in league with the powers of evil. More than one hand has probably been at work, and no consistent image is presented. And except for the clash of French and English patriotism there is no hint of deeper underlying issues. Yet speaking broadly the picture of Joan in *Henry VI* might well pass more than a century and a half after her death with a deeply prejudiced Elizabethan theater audience for a genuine delineation of La Pucelle. The dramatist is not more unkind than Holinshed in his final summing up: "These matters may verie rightfullie discover unto all the world her execrable abhominations, and well iustifie the judgement she had, and the execution she was put to for the same."

Friedrich Schiller, born in 1759, had begun his dramatic career with *Die Räuber* (1781). His *Jungfrau von Orleans* (1801) belongs to a series of his historical plays which includes also the trilogy of *Wallenstein* (1799) and *Maria Stuart*. In all of these Schiller makes history subordinate to the idea of a soul being purified and ennobled through suffering before meeting a tragic end. This is a lofty idea and Schiller combines fine poetry with a natural gift for

stagecraft. But in the *Maid of Orleans*² he takes such violent liberties with his historical material, and from the modern point of view so over-sentimentalises it, that the play largely defeats its idealistic purpose and makes the impression of Romanticism run wild.

We first see Joan in the rural home of her father Thibaut D'Arc. He has three daughters, Margot, Louisa and Joanna, whose hands are being sought by suitors. The two elder sisters look forward to becoming brides, but Joan rejects her wooer Raimond, though her father urges her to accept his love instead of wandering alone and musing beneath an ancient oak tree, where, he believes, she communes with evil spirits that haunt the spot. The news is brought of the desperate plight of Orleans besieged by the English in league with the Duke of Burgundy, and even the Queen-Mother Isabel who has turned against her son, the Dauphin Charles. Joan at the news bursts forth, as if inspired:

The fortunes of the foe before the walls
Of Orleans shall be wreck'd! His hour is come,
He now is ready for the reaper's hand,
And with her sickle will the maid appear,
And mow to earth the harvest of his pride.

Then we have the arrival of the Maid with the French troops, their victory, led by her, over the English; her announcement to Charles and to the Archbishop of Rheims of her vision of the Virgin and her command: "Conduct to Rheims thy royal master's son, / And crown him with the kingly diadem!" The Archbishop accepts her divine credentials.

Her deeds attest the truth of what she speaks,
For God alone such wonders can achieve.
Dunois. I credit not her wonders, but her eyes
Which beam with innocence and purity.
La Hire. A universe in arms we will not fear,
If she, the mighty one, precede our troops.

At the beginning of Act III Dunois and La Hire, who have been "true heart-friends, brothers-in-arms," are quarrelling as to which of them shall have Joan, who by her eloquence has won over Burgundy from the English. At the scene of reconciliation between Charles and the Duke, Dunois before all the company offers her his hand. La Hire then proffers her a humbler love. But she rejects them both: "I am the soldier of the Lord of Hosts, / And to no mortal man can I be wife." Charles himself, however, warns her that a change may come hereafter.

It is the Spirit's voice impels thee now;
Love in thy bosom, Heaven-inspir'd, is mute;
'Twill not be ever so; believe me, maid!

² Tr., Anna Swanwick (London: George Bell and Sons, 1907).

Joan protests indignantly:

O ye of little faith!
 Wo, wo is me! If e'er my-hand should wield
 The avenging sword of God, and my vain heart
 Cherish affection for a mortal man,
 'Twere better for me I had ne'er been born!

But in a battle before the gates of Rheims she disarms an English officer Lionel, and tears open his helmet. As she gazes upon his face, she falls instantly in love with him; and she lets her own sword slip to the ground and he escapes. Henceforth she feels that she is false to her vow and her mission. She feels unworthy to walk in the Coronation procession and goes before the King "with downcast head and wavering steps." Her father, with her sisters and their lovers, has followed her to Rheims, and, in the midst of the Coronation rejoicings, denounces her as a sorceress: "Deluded prince! deluded multitude! / Ye have been rescued through the arts of hell." He turns to Joan: "Now, in the name of the blest Trinity, / Belong'st thou to the pure and holy ones?" With the secret of her impious love in her breast, she remains motionless and silent, even when pressed to declare her innocence by Dunois and La Hire and the Archbishop. She is captured by a band of soldiers under the Queen Mother, Isabel, who hands her over to the English troops captained by Lionel. She has thus against her both her former friends and foes. Lionel offers to be her champion, but she has mastered her love for him:

Thou art my people's enemy and mine.
 Between us there can be no fellowship.
 Thee I can never love, but if thy heart
 Cherish affection for me, let it bring
 A blessing on my people.—Lead thy troops
 Far from the borders of my Fatherland.

The approach of a French army is announced, and to prevent Joan putting herself at their head, she is loaded with heavy chains. The French are being defeated, and the King is taken prisoner, when Joan prays to God to change her fetters into spiders' webs. She bursts them and rushes on to the field. The French army rallies, the King is freed, but Joan is mortally wounded and is borne in by Charles and Burgundy. With her dying lips she cries:

No! I am not a sorceress! Indeed I am not one.
Charles. Thou'rt holy, as an angel;
 A cloud of error dimm'd our mental sight.

With a vision of the Virgin welcoming her within the golden portals she dies. Schiller was a fine poet and an accomplished theatrical craftsman. Even a good translation cannot do full justice to the beauty of his verse which includes at least one saying that has become proverbial (III. vi):

Mit der Dummheit kämpfen Götter selbst vergebens.
 Against stupidity the very gods
 Themselves contend in vain.

There is skillful technique in the scene where Joan's silence is taken by all around her as admission of her guilt, and in the scene where the English soldier describes to the fettered Maid the changing fortunes of the battlefield. And though the issue is not made very clear, Joan goes through a tragic purgation for her sin of loving an enemy of France, and dies the death of the sanctified.

But, at what a price has Schiller achieved his aim! He has completely falsified history, both psychologically and factually. He has invented the incredible situation of Joan falling in love at first sight with an English officer, and obsessed therewith even during the coronation at Rheims. And for her martyrdom by fire in the market place at Rouen he has substituted a death on an imaginary battlefield. I do not envy Schiller if he has to meet either Joan or the Muse of History in the Elysian Fields.

Bernard Shaw's *Saint Joan* was first produced by the Theatre Guild at the Garrick Theatre in New York, December 28, 1923; in London at the New Theatre, March 26, 1924. The idea of writing the play was doubtless suggested by the canonisation of Joan d'Arc on May 16, 1920. Shaw was profoundly dissatisfied by the dramatic interpretations of Joan by the First Folio playwright, and by Schiller, whose Joan "has not a single point of contact with the real Joan, nor indeed with any mortal woman that ever walked this earth." Shaw read up the documentary records and the biographies. In 1841-9 J. Quicherat had published the reports of her trial and rehabilitation. Later Mark Twain in the United States of America, Andrew Lang in England, Anatole France in France (1908) had presented her from different angles. Their revelations were unsatisfactory to Shaw because to interpret Joan aright one must, he stated, understand her environment. His play exhibits the conflict between two ideologies—the totalitarian claims of the church and the feudal system on one side, and the right of private judgment, Protestantism, on the other. Another point on which Shaw lays stress is the right understanding of Joan's social status. In the First Folio play she called herself a shepherd's daughter. But this implies a lowlier position than hers had ever been. We get a truer view of her in the first scene from Robert de Baudricourt describing Joan after he has seen her. "First, she's mad. That doesn't matter. Second, she's not a farm wench. She's a bourgeoisie. That matters a good deal. I know her class exactly. . . . People of this sort may be of no account socially, but they can give a lot of bother to the authorities. That is to say, to me."

And Joan is giving him a lot of bother in more ways than one. She has bewitched his hens. What a contrast to the heroics of Shakespeare and Schiller is the Shavian opening of the play!

Robert. No eggs! No eggs! Thousand thunders, man, what do you mean by no eggs?

Steward. Sir, it is not my fault. It is the act of God.

Robert. Blasphemy. You tell me there are no eggs and you blame your Maker for it.

Steward. Sir, what can I do? I cannot lay eggs.

.
 . . . But there is a spell on us: we are bewitched.

So it will be as long as the Maid, the girl from Domrémy, is at the Castle door. She has come to borrow from the "squire" a horse and armor and some soldiers, and to be sent to the Dauphin. As she tells de Baudricourt when she has forced her way into his room, "Those are your orders from my Lord."

Robert. I am squire of Baudricourt, and I take no orders except from the King.

Joan. Yes, squire, that is all right. My lord is the King of Heaven.

Robert. Why the girl's mad.

But she gets her way, and as she goes out, the steward dashes in to say, "The hens are laying like mad." De Baudricourt takes it as a sign from heaven, "She did come from God."

When Joan first introduces herself in Scene ii to the Dauphin (Charles VII), Gilles de Rais impersonates the King, and cries, "Let her approach the throne"; but Joan merely asks, "Where be Dauphin" and picks him out from a group of courtiers. It is another sign that she has an authentic mission. So when she asks the Archbishop to send all these silly folks away that she may speak to the Dauphin alone, he consents. "Come, gentlemen, the Maid comes with God's blessing and must be obeyed."

Except for the charming little Scene iii on the banks of the Loire when Dunois, the Bastard of Orleans, is waiting for the west wind to change that his ships may come up, and Joan tells him that he is on the wrong side of the river, we hear nothing of the fighting near Orleans, and the raising of the siege. Even when in Scene iv we are transferred to the English camp, the Earl of Warwick and the Chaplain John de Stogumber are occupied with other than military matters. The Chaplain, Shaw's impersonation of the "John Bull" type, dismisses Dunois contemptuously as "a Frenchman."

Warwick. A Frenchman. Where did you pick up that expression? Are these Burgundians and Bretons, Picards and Gascons beginning to call themselves Frenchmen just as our fellows are beginning to call themselves Englishmen? They actually talk of France and England as their countries. Theirs, if you please! What is to become of me and you if that way of thinking comes into fashion?

Chaplain. Why, my lord? Can it hurt us?

Warwick. Men cannot serve two masters. If this cant of serving their country once takes hold of them, goodbye to the authority of their feudal lords, and goodbye to the authority of the Church. That is, goodbye to you and me.

When Cauchon, the Bishop of Beauvais, joins them the theme is further developed. Though Joan is devout, prays and goes to confession, she is in the eyes of the Bishop an arch heretic: "She acts as if she herself were the Church. She brings the message of God to Charles; and The Church must stand aside. She will crown him in the Cathedral of Rheims. She, not The Church. Has she ever in all her utterances said one word of The Church? Never. It is always God and herself." Warwick tells the Bishop that he is exaggerating the risk con-

cerning the Church, but that Joan threatens to wreck the whole social structure of Christendom. "Her two ideas are the same at bottom. It is the protest of the individual soul against the interference of priest or peer, between the private man and his God. If you will burn the Protestant, I will burn the Naturalist."

In presenting on the stage the trial at Rouen on May 30, 1431, Shaw's aim is to show that from their own point of view the Bishop of Beauvais, the Inquisitor, and even D'Estivet, "The Prompter," sought to treat Joan fairly. Their scrupulous handling of the case is contrasted with the impatience of Warwick and the fury and prejudice of Chaplain de Stogumber, who are among the Bishop's assessors. They have a foil in the Dominican monk Ladvenu Brother Martin who pleads for the girl. As a piece of stagecraft George Bernard Shaw has never achieved anything more masterly than the contrast and conflict between these characters. When Joan is brought in chained, with a guard of English soldiers, and examined, she declares that she will obey the Church "provided it does not command anything impossible."

The Prosecutor. She imputes to the Church the error and folly of commanding the impossible.

Joan. In case the Church should bid me do anything contrary to the command I have from God, I will not consent to it, whatever it may be.

Cauchon. Out of your own mouth you have condemned yourself.

When she is told that she is to be excommunicated, and then to be burnt by the English at the stake in the market place, she breaks down and signs a recantation of her heresy. But when the Inquisitor reveals that her sentence is to be one of perpetual imprisonment she revokes the recantation. Excommunication is pronounced. Joan is handed over to the English, and the story of the burning is told to Warwick by Stogumber bitterly repentant of his fury, and by Ladvenu who had handed her a cross that she might see it to the last. The Master Executioner enters, declaring "You have heard the last of her," to which Warwick replies, "The last of her? H'm. I wonder."

The Epilogue, ending with the announcement of her canonisation proves that the last of her has not been heard by the Church. Nor has the last of her been heard in the theatre. We have seen how three dramatists, English, German and Irish, in different centuries have given singularly different interpretations of her character and career. It would be interesting to know which of the young Elizabethan actors "boyed her greatness" as La Pucelle in the Rose Theatre. I do not know if German stage records preserve the name of the actress who created the part of Schiller's Jungfrau. In our own days there have been four leading representations of Shaw's Saint Joan, Sybil Thorndike, Wendy Hiller, Elizabeth Bergner, and in the French version, Madame Piteoff. I have met all four, and have seen the varied impersonations of the three English actresses.

Henry VI is by most commentators grudgingly allowed its place in the Shakespeare First Folio, and is scarcely ever revived. But I would suggest that a consideration of the above three plays proves that, in spite of its crudities, the earliest dramatic picture of Joan has its own value. In *Die Jungfrau* the conflict is between Romantic Love and a Divine Call. In Shaw's *Saint Joan* the real

protagonists are not the Maid or King Charles but the Church and the Feudal System versus Private Judgment and the Spirit of Nationality. No such ideologies divert attention from the First Folio La Pucelle, who, though inconsistently and at the close repellantly portrayed, is at any rate a woman of Amazonian stature, living again her hour upon the stage.

London

SONNET 19

DEVOURING time blunt thou the Lyons pawes,
And make the earth devoure her owne sweet brood,
Plucke the keene teeth from the fierce Tygers yawes,
And burne the long liv'd Phaenix in her blood,
Make glad and sorry seasons as thou fleet'st,
And do what ere thou wilt swift-footed time
To the wide world and all her fading sweets:
But I forbid thee one most hainous crime,
O carve not with thy howers my loves faire brow,
Nor draw noe lines there with thine antique pen,
Him in thy course untainted doe allow,
For beauties patterne to succeeding men.
Yet doe thy worst ould Time dispiht thy wrong,
My love shall in my verse ever live young.

THE WORD IN *HAMLET*

By JOHN PATERSON

Queen. Be thou assured, if words be made of breath
And breath of life, I have no words to breathe
What thou hast said to me.

TWO prominent and related features of the play *Hamlet* are: 1) the fullness and richness of the language, its verbal character, and 2) the intensely critical, almost disillusionist, attitude of the play towards language itself. *Hamlet's* rhetorical character has been so widely acknowledged as not to need corroboration here. Not so well documented, however, has been the significance in and for the play of a hostility for the word, the word as deceptive or as insufficient, the word unsupported by thought or feeling. And the play abounds in references of this nature. Hardly a character, in fact, is permitted to pass finally out of its world without some linguistic comment—and that generally critical.

"Brevity is the soul of wit," Polonius pronounces sagely, but making slowly for his point in the language of the conventional logic and rhetoric, he violates his own maxim and is properly rebuked by the Queen who remarks tartly, "More matter with less art." "What would you undertake," the King challenges Laertes, "To show yourself in deed your father's son/ More than in words." For faithless and insincere as he has been, he has had occasion to know the gap that exists between the word and the deed. In a moment of remorse he has cried,

The harlot's cheek, beautied with plastering art,
Is not more ugly to the thing that helps it
Than is my deed to my most painted word.

And realizing on his knees that his prayer and his thought are not conjoined, he has confessed, "My words fly up, my thoughts remain below;/ Words without thoughts never to heaven go." Ophelia, too, is sensitive to the eccentric relationship between word and act. When Hamlet denies having given her the letters and trinkets she is attempting to return, she reproves him heartbrokenly:

My honored lord, you know right well you did,
And with them words of so sweet breath composed
As made these things more rich; their perfume lost,
Take these again.

After her mind has gone astray, a Gentleman of the court will report,

her speech is nothing,
Yet the unshaped use of it doth move
The hearers to collection; they aim at it,
And botch the words up fit to their own thoughts.

Words, then, are screens. They stand for artifice, insincerity, falsity. Their meaning is not as true as their music. They operate everywhere at some remove from real meaning.

The fiercest, most astringent critic of the word is, of course, Hamlet himself who, of all the people of the play, is most bitterly the enemy of artifice and deception, most desperately the seeker after sincerity and truth. And the word as artifice, the word as deception, the word as substitute for action, the word as empty form, the word as inefficacious or insincere—all are comprehended in his general assault on language. For if he is profoundly disenchanted, it is because he who would himself keep the word discovers himself in an environment that has consistently neglected to keep it. "The lady doth protest too much," the Queen observes, witnessing the play within the play, and Hamlet, for whom the point is a sore one, is quick to answer, "O, but she'll keep her word." And when the results of the performance confirm his darkest suspicions about Claudius, he will cry jubilantly, and, as we interpret it, with something of profound relief, "O good Horatio, I'll take the ghost's word for a thousand pounds." For alive to the duplicity of the court, conscious of the gross lie appearance gives to reality, he has learned to mistrust the word. It has not been, in his experience, the equivalent of the deed. It has not been the equivalent of the thought. And he has manifested, therefore, bitterness, skepticism, and disgust wherever he has found the word in disaccord with act, thought, and feeling.

He declares his love to Ophelia in pretty verse, but then, misliking artifice, he adds, "O dear Ophelia, I am ill at these numbers, I have not art to reckon my groans, but that I love thee best, O most best, believe it." When he has spent his hatred for the King in impotent cursing, he bitterly reviles himself:

This is most brave,
That I, the son of a dear father murdered,
Prompted to my revenge by heaven and hell,
Must like a whore, unpack my heart with words.

And later confronting his mother with the enormity of her crime, he cries in his horror,

O, such a deed,
As from the body of contraction plucks
The very soul, and sweet religion makes
A rhapsody of words.

Again, in a letter to Horatio he writes, "I have words to speak in thine ear will make thee dumb, yet they are much too light for the bore of the matter." And when asked by the inquisitive Polonius what he reads, can only answer with profound weariness of the spirit, "Words, words, words." In the same context he parodies the court's aversion for the plain unequivocal truth of things. He has in a spirit of bitter irony condemned as slanderous the book's very accurate portrait of an old man. He adds, "all which, sir, though I most powerfully and potently believe, yet I hold it not honesty to have it thus set down." He also mocks in his conversation with the Queen the court's predilection for the oblique:

Hamlet. One word more, good lady.

Queen. What shall I do?

Hamlet. Not this, by no means, that I bid you do.

And he proceeds to bid her what he would not have her do. He has made sport, too, of the meaningless forms of polite address:

Ros. Good my lord, vouchsafe me a word with you.

Hamlet. Sir, a whole history.

And in describing his revision of the King's letters to England, he has parodied the pompous rhetoric of the official style:

An earnest conjuration from the king,
As England was his faithful tributary,
As love between them like the palm might flourish,
As peace should still her wheaten garland wear
And stand a comma 'tween their amities,
And many such-like "as'es" of great charge,
That, on the view and knowing of these contents,
Without debatement further, more or less,
He should the bearers put to sudden death,
Nor shriving time allowed.

The bulk of Hamlet's linguistic commentary comes, however, in the last act where he passes sentence on the language of the gravedigger, Laertes, and Osric, the court fopling. It is certain that he is not amused by the facile word-play of the clown, for if verbal facility and equivocation are harmless enough out of the mouth of a droll fellow, the practice could, as Hamlet knew to his pain, be all too dangerous in the lips of treacherous men. Indeed, it would suggest to him all that was septic in the Danish climate, the perilous ambiguities, the ugly incongruities. Hence his ill-humored response to the clown's harmless verbal sport, the asperity of his remarks: "How absolute the knave is! We must speak by the card, or equivocation will undo us. By the Lord, Horatio, this three years I have took note of it, the age is grown so picked that the toe of the peasant comes so near the heel of the courtier he galls his kibe." He is no less offended by the speech of Osric and Laertes, by what he knows to be the clear divorce between their language and their thought and feeling. He parodies mercilessly, in the manner of a man at once amused and angry, the empty, mannered, latinate phrasing of the water-fly, Osric, who comes with courtly praise of Laertes. "Sir," exclaims Hamlet, almost maliciously, "his definement suffers no perdition in you, though I know to divide him inventorially would dizzy the arithmetic of memory. . . . But, in the verity of extolment, I take him to be a soul of great article, and his infusion of such dearth and rareness as, to make true diction of him, his semblable is his mirror, and who else would trace him, his umbrage, nothing more." And, on the occasion of Ophelia's burial, he emerges from concealment to denounce the rant and bombast with which Laertes, bold, empty, superficial, overdresses his grief:

What is he whose grief
 Bears such an emphasis, whose phrase of sorrow
 Conjures the wandering stars, and makes them stand
 Like wonder-wounded hearers?

After they have been separated Hamlet, full of scorn and anger, parodies Laertes' extravagant bluster:

Dost thou come here to whine,
 To outface me with leaping in her grave?
 Be buried quick with her and so will I:
 And if thou prate of mountains, let them throw
 Millions of acres on us, till our ground
 Singeing his pate against the burning zone,
 Make Ossa like a wart! Nay, an thou'lt mouth,
 I'll rant as well as thou.

This general assault on language, or rather the uses of language, taken in conjunction with the play's verbal abundance, is sufficiently conspicuous to warrant some investigation, some attempt to identify its significance and function in terms of the play as a whole. Both aspects—the rhetorical fullness and the linguistic criticism—may of course be explained by reference to factors extrinsic to the play itself, in the first instance to the fact that *Hamlet* operates in the rhetorical and declamatory tradition of Senecan tragedy, and in the second, to the growing revulsion of the times for the artificial ideal of language cultivated in the latter half of the sixteenth century. This argues, of course, that *Hamlet* is a transition play between the linguistic exuberance and legerdemain of the early period and the tensility and condensation of the later; and certainly, in any final analysis, this explanation cannot easily be disregarded. It ought to be considered, however, whether or not the incidence, in a play noted for its rhetorical fullness, of an explicit hostility to language as speech divorced from thought and real motive is not vitally related to something intrinsic in the play itself, to the human situation or condition it describes if not to its basic principle and design.

We may observe at once what we have hinted at before, that if this abundant linguistic commentary means anything, it signifies that in the circumstance and condition described by the play, the word has lost its correspondence with the deed, the thought, the feeling. This phenomenon, in its turn, connotes the existence of a division between that which *appears* to be so and that which *is* so, a separation between appearance and reality. This theory at once suggests and is confirmed by what we consider to be the central principle of the play. For if it has a consistent theme and thesis, it is that of the confusion of appearance with reality, of the incongruities and ambiguities that derive from this confusion and of the anguish of the human mind which, amidst the shifting lights and shadows, cries forever after certitude and truth.

This dichotomy between appearance and reality is of course inherent in the character of life itself, but in the context of the play it is abetted if not actively promoted by the corrupt cynicism, treachery, and faithlessness which from the very first scene we know to be the character of the court and state of

Denmark. This particular world is evil, decadent; its principals struggle in a treacherous twilight of their own creation. They everywhere suspect the truth, but not with certainty. And upon their certain knowledge of the truth, the truth about their situation in the world, depends their peace of mind and even their survival. It is, therefore, their desperate exertion to know the truth about each other at the same time that they confound the truth about themselves; and in this respect the play may legitimately be described as a great contest of wits and will between Hamlet and the King to determine who will first know the truth about the other, who can best conceal his intentions and his motives, who will last escape detection and exposure. The whole action of the play is in effect dictated, on the one hand, by Claudius' desperate need to penetrate the veil of Hamlet's madness and, on the other, by Hamlet's equally desperate need to pierce the clever armor of the King and exact from him acknowledgement of his crime.

This pattern is too recurrent to be a purely accidental aspect of the play. Hamlet lives suspended in a state of agonized uncertainty until he can ascertain the ghost's true nature—"spirit of health or goblin damned." Polonius seeks with an old man's stealth and cunning to investigate his son's activities in Paris, and would determine, too, with Ophelia, if Hamlet loves or not. And, of course, all the human resources of the court—Polonius, the Queen, Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, even the guileless Ophelia—are marshalled to probe the mystery of Hamlet's seeming. Meanwhile, at the same time that the ground of this corrupt world is being beaten for the truth, its principals, the very conductors of the search, are busy concealing the truth of their own motives. They appear, that is, other than they are. Hamlet feigns a madness which, at the same time perhaps, he is dangerously near; the King's whole action in the play is to conceal the outrageous truth about his life; the Queen is more unable than unwilling to know the truth about herself and must be confronted with it by a raging Hamlet; Rosencrantz and Guildenstern practise their deceptions in the guise of old schoolfellows; even Fortinbras, who appears only momentarily in the play and as Denmark's saviour, is not above deceiving his uncle, Norway. If the medium of *Hamlet* is not, then, the utter darkness of *Macbeth*, it is the deceptive and ambiguous twilight where things do not appear as they are and where men, in a shivering suspense of fear and insecurity, peer anxiously in the half-light for the truth about each other and themselves. They struggle in the diabolic web of appearances for the elusive reality that lurks behind.

This whole theme—the confusion of appearance and reality—is clear from the beginning. Something is rotten in the state of Denmark: a ghost stalks the night, a queen has married in wretched haste, her son is disaffected, the court is populated with politicians, weaklings, sycophants. This perverse spirit has its embodiment in the persons of Polonius and Laertes. For Polonius is no mere doddering old man and Laertes no mere gallant young blade. Their corrupt skepticism and shiftiness are, indeed, symptomatic of all that afflicts the state of Denmark, and if their quality is not actually villainous, it does show itself ugly and sinister and entirely consonant with the mood of the court. They presume, for example, to distinguish between appearance and reality, but, false in themselves, having made of skepticism a habit and of policy the better part of wis-

dom, they succeed only in confounding appearance and reality. Thus at a time when the authenticity of Hamlet's love for Ophelia is beyond doubt, they corruptly misrepresent this love as false. Laertes, entirely superficial, counsels, "For Hamlet and the trifling of his favor,/ Hold it a fashion and a toy in blood." And Polonius similarly misjudges:

in few, Ophelia,
Do not believe his vows, for they are brokers,
Not of that dye which their investments show,
But mere implorators of unholy suits.

Moreover, if they are aware at all of the unnatural separation between appearance and reality, between truth and falsity, they are in no way offended by it.¹ They are, in fact, creatures by their nature designed to prosper in areas of moral ambiguity, areas where the line between appearance and reality is indistinct.

For Hamlet, however, this confusion of values is a much more painful and offensive issue. He cannot assist and exploit it with the equanimity of a Claudius, a Polonius, a Laertes. It occasions in him, in fact, a profound disenchantment if not a complete mental dislocation. He makes this evident before the play is very old:

Seems, madam, nay it is so; I know not "seems."
'Tis not alone my inky cloak, good mother,
Nor customary suits of solemn black,
Nor windy suspiration of forced breath,
.
.
.
Together with all forms, moods, shapes of grief,
That can denote me truly; these indeed seem,
For they are actions that a man might play,
But I have that within which passes show;
These but the trappings and the suits of woe.²

Moreover, after the ghost has divulged the King's treachery, Hamlet pauses significantly, in the midst of his protestations, to record in his tablet his horror "That one may smile, and smile, and be a villain." And he adds, "At least I'm sure it may be so in Denmark." His bias, his crucial need, then, is to penetrate the veil of appearances: to identify the nature of the ghost, to confront the Queen with the fact of the shame to which she appears insensitive, above all to discover the ugly thing that lies behind the King's "seeming." "Give him heedful note," he instructs Horatio,

For I mine eyes will rivet to his face,
And after we will both our judgments join
In censure of his seeming.

¹ We have only Polonius' sententious lament, more formal than felt,

We are oft to blame in this—
'Tis too much proved—that with devotion's visage
And pious action we do sugar o'er
The devil himself. (III. i. 46-49)

² If Hamlet is shaken to the roots by the contrast between what his mother appeared to be and what she really was and is, no less so is his father's ghost who calls her in his horror "my most seeming virtuous queen."

And to the fearful Queen he cries, furious, "You go not till I set you up a glass/ Where you may see the inmost part of you."

Meanwhile, in the midst of a reality falsified by human deceit and faithlessness, Hamlet's spirit has turned sour. "Ay, sir, to be honest as this world goes," he remarks to Polonius, "is to be one man picked out of ten thousand." And when at his reunion with Rosencrantz and Guildenstern he is jocularly informed that the world's grown honest, he replies sardonically, "Then is doomsday near." Further, after he has reduced his mother to tears, he excuses his virtuousness with biting irony:

Forgive me this my virtue,
For in the fatness of these pursy times
Virtue itself of vice must pardon beg.

In the circumstances, then, of a gross confusion, life has become for Hamlet full of tormenting ambiguity and incongruity. He feels himself confronted by gaps which his mind is reluctant or unable to span. Significantly, he refers to the King and Queen as "my uncle-father" and "my aunt-mother."³ He rebukes Ophelia with: "I have heard of your paintings too, well enough; God hath given you one face, and you make yourselves another; you jig, you amble, and you lisp. . . . Go to, I'll no more on't; it hath made me mad." Earlier confronted by the vision of the ghost and uncertain of its meaning, Hamlet has been on the verge of hysteria. "Be thou a spirit of health or goblin damned," he has cried,

O, answer me!
Let me not burst in ignorance, . . .
. What may this mean
That thou, dead corse, again in complete steel
Revisits thus the glimpses of the moon,
Making night hideous, and we fools of nature
So horribly to shake our disposition
With thoughts beyond the reaches of our souls?

Finally, it is indicative of Hamlet's insight into the nature of his environment, and also of his despair, that he is moved at one point, in debate with Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, to take up a position of philosophic relativism: "there is nothing either good or bad, but thinking makes it so." And that he is alienated by this condition, the either-or-ness of everything, that it is the cause of his disillusion and of his mental defection, is made evident by his contemptuous play with Polonius and Osric. "Do you see yonder cloud that's almost in shape of a camel?" he asks Polonius.

Pol. By the mass and 'tis, like a camel indeed.
Hamlet. Methinks it is like a weasel.
Pol. It is backed like a weasel.
Hamlet. Or like a whale?
Pol. Very like a whale.

³ Hamlet's mind is deranged not because his mother has married again, but because his mother has married his uncle and his father's brother. Ophelia goes mad not because her father has been killed, but because her father has been killed by her lover. In both cases, the poise of the mind has been disturbed by an incongruity it could not embrace.

Again, "it is very hot," Osric thinks.

Hamlet. No, believe me, 'tis very cold; the wind is northerly.

Osric. It is indifferent cold, my lord, indeed.

Hamlet. But yet methinks it is very sultry and hot, or my complexion—

Osric. Exceedingly, my lord; it is very sultry—as 'twere—I cannot tell how.

What has afflicted, then, the state of Denmark, what has occasioned Hamlet's severe distress of spirit is made manifest: it is the divorce between appearance and reality, and the incongruity and ambiguity multiplied therefrom. If, therefore, in this dark region of doubt and insecurity, the good calm light of Horatio has shone like a beacon, it is because he alone of all this slippery population has been proof against the universal taint, has preserved his intactness and his integrity, and if the play ends on a note of bright affirmation, it is because the fortunes of Denmark, after its nightmare of deceit and treachery, repose at last in his untortured and untainted hands, his and those of the valiant Fortinbras who brings into the play for the first time a breath of brisk air.⁴ If, too, in the end, Hamlet has ceased to be the anguished and hysterical personality, it is because he has won at last through the evil tangle of appearances to a clear apprehension of the truth, and knows he rests on firm ground. His final consideration, in fact, even as he draws his last breath, is that the truth be pronounced and his part in the drama cleared beyond all possibility of misconstruction. Horatio would die with him, but

O good Horatio, what a wounded name,
Things standing thus unknown, shall live behind me!
If thou didst ever hold me in thy heart,
Absent thee from felicity awhile,
And in this harsh world draw thy breath in pain
To tell my story.

Wherefore in the last important speech of the play, a speech that is indeed the period of the play, Horatio faithfully announces his intention to publish the truth, once and for all to end the confusion between appearance and reality:

And let me speak to the yet unknowing world
How these things came about; so shall you hear
Of carnal, bloody and unnatural acts,
Of accidental judgments, casual slaughters,
Of deaths put on by cunning and forced cause,
And, in this upshot, purposes mistook
Fall'n on the inventors' heads: all this can I
Truly deliver.

All which Fortinbras confirms. The ending is not, in other words, merely formal, superfluous. It brings the play to its natural completion, out of the area of spiritual depression and demoralization, out of the treacherous twilight of

⁴ Fortinbras comes not only as the representative of a less demented outer world, but also as a military man full of youthful confidence and decision.

confusion and ambiguity, into the calm plain light of truth and confidence. And by so doing, it justifies the personal tragedy of Hamlet who, with whatever indecision of the spirit, has, by his flint-like refusal to accept the state of things, precipitated the whole crisis.

What, then, has been the function of the linguistic commentary in the movement of the play? Like the play within the play, it has been a theme within a theme. It has given substance to the principle central to the play, the contradiction between appearance and reality. The breakdown and prostitution of language which, as it appears in Osric, Laertes, and the gravedigger, Hamlet so bitterly resents, has corresponded to the diffusion of reality in the treacherous shapes and forms of appearance. The split between the word and the deed, between the speech and the thought, has reflected the more serious split that, in the state of Denmark as in the state of life, exists between appearance and reality.

It is the triumph of the play that in the end the split is healed and truth reasserted in the proud final words of Horatio. It is above all the triumph of Hamlet who, in agonized revolt against the ambiguity and incongruity of things, has struggled and prevailed against the defects of his own nature, and finally given his life, to bring together that which has been in disaccord. At the close of the play, we have every assurance that the validity of the word has been reestablished, that the word as it has been exercised in the plain undistorted conversation of Hamlet and Horatio has been restored.

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SONNET 27

WEARY with toyle, I hast me to my bed,
The deare repose for lims with travaill tired,
But then begins a journey in my head
To worke my mind, when boddies work's expired.
For then my thoughts (from far where I abide)
Intend a zelous pilgrimage to thee,
And keepe my drooping eye-lids open wide,
Looking on darknes which the blind doe see.
Save that my soules imaginary sight
Presents their shaddoe to my sightles view,
Which like a jewell (hunge in gasty night)
Makes blacke night beautilous, and her old face new.
Loe thus by day my lims, by night my mind,
For thee, and for my selfe, noe quiet finde.

THE POETRY OF THE STORM IN KING LEAR

By GEORGE W. WILLIAMS

Blow, blow, thou winter wind,
Thou art not so unkind
As man's ingratitude.

—As You Like It

THE LINES opening the second scene of Act Three of *King Lear*, comprising the king's remarks on the storm, often quoted and admired, and admittedly some of the most important in the play, have never been examined in detail. They are, however, climactic in the play and fundamental to the character of the king, and they exhibit that combination of dramatic and poetic genius which one expects to find in Shakespeare in critical passages. They are, in short, "the very heart of the organism."¹ The late Harley Granville-Barker has pointed out the fusion of the storm in nature and the storm in the protagonist:

Lear—striving (we are given the hint) "... in his little world of man to out-scorn the to-and-fro-conflicting wind and rain," matching himself against the storm, echoing it in defying it—becomes for us, without ceasing to be himself, a very image of it. He creates it dramatically; but not by detached description, which would merely let us see it through his eyes. He is endued, and he endues us, with the very spirit of it. He, for the crucial moment, is at one with it, and we with him, and he is to us Lear and the storm too.²

This dramatic presentation of the storm without identified and equated with the storm within and, it may be added, with the disruption in the kingdom, requires writing of the highest intensity.

The first speech in the second scene is Lear's (III. ii. 1-9). It is the crowning speech of the first part of the play—in a sense the keystone. Only a few lines later, Lear says, "My wits begin to turn." His speeches in scene ii show the last traces of his already vanishing sanity, and in scene iv he is "far gone, far gone." His prayer in scene iv (28-36) concluding:

Take physic, pomp;
Expose thyself to feel what wretches feel,
That thou mayst shake the superflux to them
And show the heavens more just

is the first step in the regenerative process, showing as it does a sympathy towards man and an incipient willingness to admit an error, but it is also the last sane utterance, if not indeed an expression of a mentality already deranged, and it follows the height of the storm.

¹ G. Wilson Knight, *The Shakespearean Tempest* (Oxford, 1932), p. 167. For an exposition of the place of the tempest in the play cf. pp. 194-201.

² "Shakespeare's Dramatic Art," in *A Companion to Shakespeare Studies* (Cambridge, 1934), p. 74. Cf. for the expansion of this idea his *Prefaces* (Princeton, 1946), I, 266-267.

The storm of the Third Act is prepared for with the greatest care. At the conclusion of the Second Act there are several references to its approach.

Cornwall. Let us withdraw; 'twill be a storm. (290)

Gloucester. Alack, the night comes on, and the bleak winds
Do sorely ruffle. For many miles about
There's scarce a bush. (303-305)

Regan. Shut up your doors. (307)

Cornwall. Shut up your doors, my lord; 'tis a wild night.
My Regan counsels well. Come out o' th' storm. (311-312)

In scene i of Act Three the clouds continue to gather.

Kent. Who's there, besides foul weather?

Gentleman. One minded like the weather, most unquietly.

Kent. I know you. Where's the king?

Gentleman. Contending with the fretful elements;

Bids the wind blow the earth into the sea,

Or swell the curled waters 'bove the main,

That things might change or cease; tears his white hair,

Which the impetuous blasts, with eyeless rage,

Catch in their fury and make nothing of;

Strives in his little world of man to outscorn

The to-and-fro-conflicting wind and rain.

This night, wherein the cub-drawn bear would couch,

The lion and the belly-pinched wolf

Keep their fur dry, unbonneted he runs,

And bids what will take all. (1-15)

Kent. Fie on this storm! (49)

This descriptive speech is extremely important to the great storm speech of the following scene, for it suggests in advance the wildness of the night (not realized fully until it appears in *Lear*), it anticipates the themes he is to develop (the violence of the wind and water, destruction and annihilation), and it emphasizes significantly the unnaturalness of nature. The animal imagery is here, as typically in *Lear*, very revealing: the implication is clear that the animals mentioned in this passage—wild, ravening, and scavenging at best and here urged by abnormal causes to a state beyond their characteristic wildness—are reacting more reasonably to the storm than is the king. Edgar's lines, "False of heart, light of ear, bloody of hand; hog in sloth, fox in stealth, wolf in greediness, dog in madness, lion in prey" (III. iv. 95-97), may serve as a useful gloss to these allusions. Thus the lion is not the royal figure (is without the majesty and ceremony of kingship) so much as he is the beast of prey; the wolf, by nature greedy, is *belly-pinched*, almost starving; and the bear dam, having nursed her cubs—who like *Lear*'s daughters have taken all from her and yet clamor for more—hungers to feed herself and them. An association is evidently intended. These wild animals in spite of their roughness are, after all, out of the weather under cover from the storm in the same way that *Lear*'s daughters have found shelter from its violence, closing their doors to him as they went.³ *Lear* himself

³ Cf. J. Kirkman, "Animal Nature versus Human Nature in *King Lear*," *New Shakespeare Society*, Ser. I, 5-7 [1877-1879], p. 385; A. Yoder, *Animal Analogy* (New York, 1947), p. 119, n. 18; Knight, p. 195.

points the significance of these references to wild animality in his earlier lines:

No, rather I abjure all roofs, and choose
To wage against the enmity o' th' air,
To be a comrade with the wolf and owl—
Necessity's sharp pinch! (II. iv. 211-214)

The wolf, symbol of greed, and the owl, of malevolence, are the evil companions the king expects to meet on the heath. Actually even the most irrational animals have left the barren heath to seek protection, while the king, *unbonneted*, and abandoned by every creature, stands alone against animal nature, human nature, and, as he discovers, cosmic nature, attended only by the pricking wisdom of the Fool.⁴

The unnaturalness and wildness of nature are further indicated in the very winds and seas themselves, which are urged to reverse the order of things prescribed in the creation of the world: "God said againe, Let the waters under the heauen bee gathered into one place, and let the drie land appeare: and it was so."⁵ But the reversion and madness of the elements are equated with the chaotic condition of the king at odds with himself and are described in terms of human physiology to heighten the identification. The *impetuous blasts* are in a state of *eyeless rage* just as Lear is in *high rage*;⁶ the image of sight instantly recalls the frequent references to Lear's spiritual blindness and to Gloucester's physical blindness.⁷ The correspondence between Lear and the world, the microcosm and the macrocosm, is indicated in the line "striving in his little world of man" and affirmed by Gloucester: "O ruin'd piece of nature! This great world/ Shall so wear out to naught" (IV. vi. 137). This anthropomorphic description of the storm winds emphasizes another parallel which is inherent in the Lear—cosmos relation. The correspondence between the microcosm and the macrocosm, macrocosmic violence in terms of the microcosm, suggests additional and amplifying correspondences; the kingdom and the family, the body politic and the body domestic, are caught up in this mesh of interlocking connotations. That these correspondences form an intended extension of relevance Gloucester explains: "These late eclipses in the sun and moon portend no good to us. Though the wisdom of nature can reason it thus and thus, yet nature finds itself scourg'd by the sequent effects. . . . Love cools, friendship falls off, brothers divide. In cities mutinies; in countries, discord; in palaces, treason; and the bond crack'd 'twixt son and father. . . . We have seen the best of our time. Machinations, hollownes, treachery, and all ruinous disorders follow us disquietly to our graves!"⁸

⁴ For an interesting comment on the position of the Fool in the storm see R. B. Heilman, *This Great Stage* (Baton Rouge, 1948), p. 326, n. 8. On the significance of "unbonneted" also see pp. 72-73.

⁵ Genesis i. 9-10. All Biblical references are drawn from the Geneva Version.

⁶ II. iv. 299. The Gentleman is "minded like the weather, most unquietly."

⁷ Cf. P. V. Kreider, *Repetition in Shakespeare's Plays* (Cincinnati, 1941), especially "'Gloucester's Eyes!'" pp. 194-214.

⁸ Cf. also J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough* (New York, 1935), I, 367: "It was the belief of the ancient Irish that when their kings observed the customs of their ancestors, the seasons were mild, the crops plentiful." Heilman has pointed out (p. 26) that the storm "is obviously a symbol of subversion and perversion, of a turning upside down of the nature of things, of human unnaturalness." For the full explanation of the system of correspondences see Theodore Spencer, *Shakespeare and the Nature of Man* (New York, 1949), pp. 135-152, and Moody Prior, *The Language of Tragedy* (New York, 1947), pp. 84-86.

(I. ii. 112-125). The assimilation of the body politic into the equations between the body domestic or the family, the microcosm, and the macrocosm is suggested in the imagery borrowed from political warfare describing military operations: *to-and-fro-conflicting* and

But yet I call you [elements] servile ministers,
That will with two pernicious daughters join
Your high-engender'd battles 'gainst a head
So old and white as this!⁹ (III. ii. 21-24)

The eclipses, the jarring elements, the divided kingdom, the disordered family, the demented Lear are firmly linked together in the system of correspondences. At the same time, however, it must be noted that the storm, a perversion of nature, is yet disorder within order and actually presupposes an order. "The storm suggests, on one level, the victory of a nature hostile to humanity; yet the storm is regularly regarded as a convulsion of nature—a disorder which interferes with but does not destroy an essential order which still *is*. There is chaos in the world; but tragedy sees chaos in perspective; it measures chaos by order. Chaos is irreparable only when it is mistaken for order; when it is felt as disorder, there is still hope.

The tragic world is a kind of chaos: the disorder within the soul is projected into the larger world" (Heilman, pp. 116, 91). The storm is thus the disorder or purgative necessary to the order or health of the king. It can only be meaningful if taken in this sense and understood to be a necessary evil through which he must live so as to be cured of evil.

In the first nine lines of scene ii the storm and the style rise to their greatest pitch. It is in fact only through the rise in the style that the audience comes to feel the full extent of the storm. In these lines Shakespeare reaches the point for which he has been preparing in the preceding two scenes. The report which the Gentleman makes in scene i first announces the condition of the king, at war with himself and the elements. This is followed by a digression of thirty-five lines during which the conversation shifts to the fortunes of Cordelia and the activities of the British dukes. Kent recalls the storm hastily before his exit and immediately in the person of the king it breaks in full fury.

Blow, winds, and crack your cheeks! rage! blow!
You cataracts and hurricanoes, spout
Till you have drench'd our steeples, drown'd the cocks!
You sulph'rous and thought-executing fires,
Vaunt couriers to oak-cleaving thunderbolts,
Singe my white head! And thou, all-shaking thunder,
Strike flat the thick rotundity o' th' world,
Crack Nature's moulds, all germaines spill at once,
That make ingrateful man!

The phonetics in these lines is especially remarkable. Most notable is the frequency of fricatives and stops in clusters of onomatopoeic vernacular words chosen to suggest the roughness and harshness of the weather:

⁹ Cf. Knight, p. 196.

blow, crack, cheek, blow, cataract, spout, drench'd, steeples, drown'd, cocks, thought-executing, oak-cleaving thunderbolts, singe, shaking thunder, strike (in the Qq, *smite*), thick, crack, spill, make.

The pattern of nasals—

winds, hurricanoes, drench'd, drown'd, vault, cleaving thunder, singe, thunder, rotundity, nature's moulds, germaines, make, ingrateful man—

and the pattern of the sibilants—

winds, cheeks, cataracts, hurricanoes, spout, steeples, cocks, sulph'rous, executing, fires, couriers, bolts, singe, shaking, strike (in the Qq, *smite*), nature's moulds, germaines, spill, once—

while not so spectacular are equally present. The combination of a low vowel with a nasal, honored from classical times, occurs most effectively in

Vaunt-couriers to oak-cleaving *thunderbolts*
Singe my white head! And thou, all-shaking *thunder*,
Strike flat the thick *rotundity* o' th' world.

Here the *-und-* group links the three lines inextricably together, providing the equivalent of the continued rumbling of thunder. But after the hissing, the crashing, and the thundering, the passage comes to rest as far as that is possible on the liquids, *moulds, all, spill, ingrateful*.¹⁰

The passage is one of those in Shakespeare extraordinary for what have been happily termed "amazing" words. Mr. John Crowe Ransom lately,¹¹ and others before him, have profitably studied etymologies, word origins, and the relationship which they bear to word-position in the line and the sentence and have demonstrated a productive and rewarding method of word-study. Shakespeare is a master of English and of foreign words in English. He is chief cook, and as has been suggested, he uses the same recipe as that recommended by Lear's Fool. Shakespeare does with his words what his "cockney did to the eels when she put 'em i' th' paste alive. She knapped 'em o' th' coxcombs with a stick and cried Down, wantons, down!" (II. iv. 123-127). They behave; the concoction is unsurpassable. But noticeable at once in the passage, basically a paragraph of native or vernacular words, are the foreign importations: Greek *καταρράκτης*,¹² Carib *huracán*,¹³ French *avant-couriers*, and Latin *sulfureus*, *executans*, *rotunditas*, *germen*, *ingratus*.¹⁴ Like the eels these words remain

¹⁰ Granville-Barker has called to our attention (*Prefaces*, I, 266-267) the poverty and ineffectiveness of the storm machinery on the Elizabethan stage. There can be little doubt, I think, that Shakespeare was suggesting the noises of the storm in the harsh words of his poetry, not in terms of decibels surely, but with an ear to the traditions of classical onomatopoeia.

¹¹ "On Shakespeare's Language," *Sewanee Review*, LV (1947), 181-198.

¹² Greek *καταρράκτης*, "down-rushing," or "waterfall," is cognate with *καταρρήνυμι* meaning: to break down, tear in pieces, (of storms and waterfalls) to rush down, to fall in, and (medically, of parts of the body) to collapse. It is a violent word in Greek.

¹³ This form is the term brought back by Spanish explorers of the Caribbean and introduced through their reports into English. It is the word used by the cannibalistic tribe of the Caribs for "sea storms." The spelling in this reference is one of many in the period.

¹⁴ Of these *sulph'rous* and *executing*, along with *nature* and *ingrateful*, must be allowed to have lost very nearly all of their Latinity by 1600.

alive, refusing to submit completely to being Englished; in their alien setting they raise their heads.

Cataract appears here in its only use in Shakespeare, though it was a common term throughout the sixteenth century. It was generally understood to refer to the "floodgates of heaven" regarded as holding back the rain or perhaps the waters above the firmament. In this passage, however, it is commonly considered by critics that its primary meaning is "waterspout," a rare though not original application,¹⁵ suggested by its conjunction with *hurricano* and *spout*.¹⁶ *Hurricano* is defined by its only other appearance in Shakespeare, in *Troilus and Cressida*, V. ii. 171-173: "the dreadful spout/ Which shipmen do the hurricano call,/ Constring'd in mass by the almighty sun." The meaning as seen by this gloss is "waterspout," so that both these terms have the same significance, as it is thought, and are merely synonymous. Such a reading overlooks much in the pair, and there would seem to be good reason for accepting the more normal meanings "floodgates of heaven" and "sea storms." These latter interpretations are considerably richer since they contribute violence to the image, follow the familiar Bible story of the Flood, and evoke Jehovanistic overtones quite in keeping with the character of the protagonist. *Rotundity*, meaning evidently "roundness," is an instance of a rare Latinism taken over by Shakespeare and used only once. The active stem *rotund-* was well known in the late sixteenth century from the French or Italian; *rotundity*, however, is apparently directly from the Latin *rotunditas*. It is unusually effective in this passage. *Germain* is a word of Shakespeare's own coinage, from the Latin. It is an "inkhorn" term used with its Latin meaning, "seed," applying presumably to animal as well as to plant semenality. The only other use of *germain* in Shakespeare is by *Macbeth* in a speech singularly important to this one.

Interesting as are these words in themselves, their combination is even more so. The first line is seen to be an epanalepsis, entirely monosyllabic and Germanic in etymology: "Blow, winds, and crack your cheeks! rage! blow!" The second is strikingly polysyllabic: "You cataracts and hurricanoes, spout," and combines the classical Greek term with the outlandish barbarism from the cannibals of the New World. Such an astonishing juxtaposition must have been particularly original and exciting to an ear as sensitive to word-play as that of the educated Elizabethan. The third line is again native in origin and, except for one word, monosyllabic: "Till you have drench'd our steeples, drown'd the cocks!" Thus is set up the pattern: vernacular/ imported/ vernacular. The three lines taken as a unit, furthermore, are prevailingly monosyllabic and vernacular. The fourth and fifth lines, "You sulph'rous and thought-executing fires,/ Vaunt-couriers to oak-cleaving thunderbolts," contain a mixture of words of Latin extraction, the single French innovation, and set against them the short vernacular *thought*,

¹⁵ This interpretation is given for this passage in the *NED* which lists also both Shakespearean uses of *germain* and *hurricano*.

¹⁶ The punctuation used by Kittredge (the text here followed) and most modern editors seems to give the lines the clearest reading though it contraverts both Qq and Ff, which is: "blow / You cataracts, and Hurricano's spout, /." It is difficult, almost impossible, to understand why a cataract should blow. Duthie (*Shakespeare's King Lear* [Oxford: Blackwell, 1949]) follows the Folio. For a discussion of the punctuation of this passage corroborating the emendation here used see my "A Note on *King Lear*: III. ii. 1-3," *Studies in Bibliography* (Papers of the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, II, [1949-1950]), pp. 175-182.

*fires, oak, and cleaving.*¹⁷ In contrast to the monosyllabic cast of the first three lines, these two lines are generously polysyllabic, with even the native monosyllables hyphenated into polysyllables. The sixth and seventh lines are again monosyllabic and vernacular: "Singe my white head! And thou, all-shaking thunder,/ Strike flat the thick rotundity o' th' world," with the exception of the all-important Latin *rotundity*. The position of this word, a heavy, classical importation with the characteristic low vowel, is exactly correct in these lines of rough, fricative, native monosyllables. It contrasts vigorously with its surroundings, it raises its head, it appears in the round, echoing the rumbling of the thunder of the two preceding lines. The passage thus far repeats the pattern of the first three lines:

lines 1-3, vernacular and monosyllabic (the importations are exceptions)

lines 4-5, imported and polysyllabic

lines 6-7, vernacular and monosyllabic (the importation is the exception).

Lines 8-9 in miniature restate the pattern, equally skillfully: "Crack Nature's moulds, all germains spill at once,/ That make ingrateful man." Here in three groups of three words each, bi- or tri-syllabic words of an original Latin extraction are flanked by vernacular or Germanic single syllables.¹⁸

The speech in *Macbeth* referred to above affords a valuable and revealing comparison with the lines in question here. It occurs at the opening of Macbeth's speech to the witches when he visits them in their cavern:

I conjure you by that which you profess
 (Howe'er you come to know it), answer me.
 Though you untie the winds and let them fight
 Against the churches; though the yesty waves
 Confound and swallow navigation up;
 Though bladed corn be lodg'd and trees blown down;
 Though castles topple on their warders' heads;
 Though palaces and pyramids do slope
 Their heads to their foundations; though the treasure
 Of nature's germens tumble all together,
 Even till destruction sicken—answer me
 To what I ask you. (IV. i. 51-60)

This speech of Macbeth parallels in many ways the more important speech in *Lear*: in both the winds and waves are rioting, the churches are threatened,

¹⁷ There has been a flurry of scholarship over the exact meaning of *thought-executing*. One school holds that it signifies "executing as quickly as thought"; the other that it is "executing the thought of the god who cast the bolt." (These opinions will be found in the *Variorum*, p. 171.) Either interpretation or both would seem acceptable. Mr. Pringle Barret has called attention (*MLN*, XLIII [1928], 316-317) to the parallel passage in *The Tempest* I. ii. 201-203: "Jove's lightnings, the precursors / O' th' dreadful thunderclaps, more momentary / And sight-outrunning were not." But the concept of the speed of thought is not lacking elsewhere (*Troilus and Cressida* IV. ii. 14): "With wings more momentary-swift than thought."

¹⁸ *Ingrateful* applies in three senses: 1) displeasing (in a definition close to Latin), 2) harsh or unfriendly, and 3) not showing gratitude. As gratitude is one of the key themes of *Lear*, the importance of this word is apparent. Its spelling is interchangeable in Shakespeare with the more conventional *ungrateful*.

the elemental substances are indicated, the word *germens* appears, the storm described is one of violent destruction to a point of nausea, and there is in "Confound and swallow navigation up" and "Their heads to their foundations" the same use of the remarkable Latin word standing in a Germanic environment. The exact biographical or literary connection between these two speeches—if there is any—is difficult if not impossible to determine. They were being written about the same time, and while their dramatic contexts differ greatly they are saying roughly the same thing. It is apparent that the passage in *Lear* is on a superior level of poetic intensity to that in *Macbeth*, but this superiority does not discredit the latter. In its context it is as perfectly suited as is this of *Lear*. Lear's speech is a "purple" passage because it is climactic in its play. Macbeth's speech is less exciting because it takes place in one of the less climactic scenes in its play. Each subserves the structure of its drama.

The exposition of the four elemental substances in the *Lear* passage is notable. The first line refers to air; the second and third to water; the fourth and fifth to fire; and the remainder to earth. The mention of all the elements affords a completeness lacking in the *Macbeth* passage which mentions only air and water. The image in *Macbeth* of the wind "fighting against the churches" is good though not startling, but the "drench'd steeples, drown'd cocks" is better. The violence of the storm in *Lear* is heightened and increased through the anthropomorphic imagery. In *Macbeth* the winds are still imagistically the classic winds of the *Odyssey* to be released from Æolus' bag.¹⁹ In *Lear*, however, as a complement to the king's violence having been described in terms of the weather, the wind has put on the custom of man, the macrocosm become the microcosm, and blows and puffs its cheeks until they crack.²⁰

It is not inappropriate to examine the relationship of the king and the elements at this point as it is revealed in these nine lines and in the following eleven. This tremendous nine-line speech can not be regarded as an accurate though frenzied meteorological report on the state of the weather. Such has already been given by the two faithful retainers at the opening of the Act. These lines are not the statement of one resigned to his fate, for the king is not yet in the purgative stage. If they are regarded as a prayer to the great gods for retribution,²¹ serious difficulties are encountered in resolving the imprecations hurled at the elements in the second part of the speech, following the lines of the Fool, and including "I tax you not, you elements, with unkindness. . . ." and "But yet I call you servile ministers. . . ." If these lines again form a prayer they differ strikingly from the more easily recognized prayers, "O heavens, if you do love old men" and "Poor naked wretches." They are in fact much closer to the curses of barrenness which they parallel in thought as well as in tone and mood. The Gentleman explains finally the nature of the king's speech: "Bids the wind blow the earth into the sea,/ Or swell the curled waters 'bove the main" (III. i. 5-6). This bidding can only be equivalent to the command of the king, as when he says: "bid them [Regan and Cornwall] come forth and hear me,/ Or at their

¹⁹ Macbeth's winds are, of course, under the control of the witches (I. iii. 11-17), but in the verb *untie* is surely suggested the episode in the *Odyssey*, Book X.

²⁰ At the same time the cartographer's decoration of the little wind-god must not be forgotten.

²¹ As does G. Wilson Knight (*The Wheel of Fire* [Oxford, 1930], p. 201). It seems difficult to reconcile reviling with prayer.

chamber-door I'll beat the drum/ Till it cry death to sleep" (II. iv. 118-120). These wild lines then must be understood as direct orders to the winds, the waves, the thunder, and the lightning. Such an interpretation accords well with what has been seen of the character of the king. The commands of the first nine lines recall those given throughout the earlier part of the play; they are in the same vein. King Lear regards himself still as every inch a king, and shouting his orders to his subordinates, he reveals clearly his proud, arrogant, and stubborn authority. The elements are Lear's servants. But he has given to them, as to Cordelia, Kent, and the Fool, nothing. Here at last the reckoning is made: nothing comes of nothing. From these unfee'd servants Lear no longer receives toadying flattery, he no longer receives even obedience. To a royal philosophy of *quid pro quo* (or *quid pro nihilo*), the basis of Lear's erroneous sense of values, comes the awakening: "You owe me no subscription." *Nihil pro nihilo*. The first lines of the speech command general destruction in which Lear's white head must perforce be singed. The second group of eleven lines is anti-climactic; the destruction does not occur. The tempest continues, however, to beat down on Lear's unprotected head. The realization develops that the elements are no longer his servants; they are in fact his masters, now servilely and venally collegued with his daughters. He is no longer a king. He discovers at this moment when the elements do not obey him that they, allies of his ungrateful daughters, have also thrown off the imperial yoke. Instead of responding to his commands immediately, as he remembers later, they turn on him. "When the rain came to wet me once and the wind to make me chatter; when the thunder would not peace at my bidding; there I found 'em, there I smelt 'em out"²² (IV. vi. 102-105). It is the remarks of the Fool between the two sections of the speech that make this clear: "O nuncle, court holy-water in a dry house is better than this rainwater out o' door." That is to say, voluntary submission to your rebelling daughters is to be preferred to enforced submission to the rebelling of nature, which evidently has no longer any intention of obeying you.

Furthermore, in giving these orders to the elements, Lear is acting in conformity and parallel with Roman and Celtic tradition. These mythologies both state the ancient position of the king as the creator of the weather, especially of the stormy weather.²³ Numa, an early king of Rome, for classical precedent, is recorded to have been able to call on the elements at will.²⁴ An interesting expression of this tradition is seen earlier in Edmund's deception of his father: "I told him the revenging gods/ 'Gainst parricides did all their thunders bend" (II. i. 47-48). Though Edmund utters this threat as a means of inciting his father's superstitious nature to action against Edgar, it becomes a "bloody instruction" which with typical Shakespearian irony returns to plague him. Edmund, the parricide, like Lear's daughters, is finally stricken down by the forces that league with the gods. Paradoxically, it is his own head which is eventually "singed."

This power of calling on the thunderbolt, which is granted to the king,

²² I do not find any instructions for the thunder to be still.

²³ Frazer, II, 181, 182, 183, and *passim*.

²⁴ *Loc. cit.* For the reference to Numa cf. Pliny, II, xxviii, 13 ff.

exalts him to a position equal to that of Jupiter and identifies him with the Thunderer, the Rain-god, and the Hurler of the Lightnings. As Gloucester says, "He hold the heavens to rain" (III. vii. 62). The king-god Lear demands from the heavens, as is his right, a storm, the violence of which can be paralleled only by the turbid violence of his own mind.²⁵

The extent of the storm must be absolute and final. This is made clear in the imagery first of *cataracts* and *hurricanes* in the quotation. The waters loosed on the land are to be poured from the heavens and raised from the deeps: are to be heavenly and earthly. Such is the nature of Deucalion's flood, "Nec caelo contenta suo est Iovis ira, sed illum/ caeruleus frater iuvat auxiliariis undis,"²⁶ and of Noah's, "in the same day were the fountaines of the great deepe broken vp, and the windowes of heauen were opened."²⁷ That Shakespeare had in mind these passages, or at least was thinking of the rising and the falling of the waters as two opposing actions must be admitted. *Cataracts* are descending waters, of the heavens, and *hurricanes* are rising waters, of the earth.²⁸ These senses are corroborated by the verbs which parallel their subjects.

Thus

cataracts : drench :: hurricanes : drown.

By pouring down, the cataracts of heaven will cause the steeples to drink: by inundation the rising waters of the sea will cover the cocks.²⁹ Lear orders a return of the Hebraic deluge with a covering of the land by the water, a return to a state of near chaos, of elemental confusion.³⁰ The works of man are to be destroyed and even the works of God are to be annihilated. The words of Jehovah announcing the Flood before the building of the ark similarly describe

²⁵ Lear's relation to the ordered universe is disclosed by Mr. Heilman (pp. 266, 270), who recalls the oath "By all the operation of the orbs" with which he disinherits Cordelia and his brief recollection, "the thunder would not peace at my bidding." "The thunder . . . which symbolized to him the working of the 'great gods.'" The irony is implicit in the fact that though the thunder did not strike flat the world the gods have answered his prayers and commands to punish his ungrateful daughters. Note also II. iv. 192-195 for another appeal to the heavenly powers, and for the king's position as director of the "Thunder-bearer" cf. II. iv. 230.

²⁶ Ovid, *Metamorphoses* I, 274-275 (Loeb ed., 1936, p. 20).

²⁷ Genesis vii. 11 (and viii. 2). In the Septuagint and the Vulgate the word *cataract* is used: "rupti sunt omnes fontes abyssi magnæ, et cataractæ celi apertæ sunt." Cf. also *Paradise Lost*, XI, 820-825, for the Miltonic description of the flood and for its Satanic counterpart which has unmistakable echoes of this passage, II. 176-183.

²⁸ On the other hand, the *Troilus and Cressida* passage quite distinctly regards the hurricane as a descending spout:

Not the dreadful spout
Which shipmen do the hurricano call, . . .
Shall dizzy with more clamour Neptune's ear
In his descent than shall my prompted sword
Falling on Diomed.

²⁹ Shakespeare uses *drown* to suggest rising waters not infrequently. In *Pericles* V. i. 193-196:

put me to present pain
Lest this great sea of joys rushing upon me
O'erbear the shores of my mortality
And drown me.

There are similar uses in *Midsummer Night's Dream* II. i. 90-100, and *Richard II* III. ii. 106-111.

³⁰ This sort of inundation in moments of awful terror is suggested also in *Psalms* xlii. 2 and *Revelation* viii. 8.

the destruction of His own work: "And I, Beholde, I will bring a flood of waters upon the earth to destroy all flesh, wherein is the breath of life, from under the heauen: and everything that is in the earth shall perish" (Genesis vi. 17).

As the imagery of cataracts and hurricanes has evoked connotations of destruction comparable to that at the time of the Deluge, so the concluding images suggests the ruin of the Last Judgment. Bolts of thunder and lightning are to flatten out the roundness of the earth,³¹ Nature's moulds are to be cracked and shattered until they are useless, all germinations are to be spilled. Such imagery can indicate only eschatological destruction. Bradley has suggested that the theme of the latter day may have been in Shakespeare's mind during the writing of this play, and Lear himself threatens to do undescrivable things, the "terrors of the earth."³² Bradley cites specifically the passages in Matthew and Mark generally titled "the little apocalypse," and it may not be irrelevant to point out that in both these scriptural predictions there are descriptions of the time of the Final Judgment which would set it within the time scheme of this play: "the brother shall deliuer the brother to death, and the father the sonne, and the children shall rise against their parents and shall cause them to die" (Mark xiii. 12). It is not improbable in the light of the importance of the themes of justice and injustice in the play that Shakespeare was thinking in the king's hectic speech in terms of the Day of Judgment when justice shall finally be accomplished in the world.

Moulds thus is to be regarded, with this interpretation of time in mind, as referring to the forms of Plato existent in the creator's mind in accordance with which everything was made that was made. Such a function of the shaping of things is indicated in the *Timæus* and the *Phædrus* though it is more likely that Shakespeare's allusion stems from the more readily available commentaries of the school of Plotinus and the Neoplatonists as revealed in the writings of the Florentine Academy. Plotinus envisions the creation of all existing things as the operation of the generative soul infusing forms with matter: "The Soul, therefore, produces by the forms. The forms she transmits are by her received from the Intelligence. This Intelligence, however, gives the forms to the universal Soul which is located immediately below her, and the universal soul transmits them to the inferior soul [the natural generative power], fashioning and illuminating her. The inferior soul then produces. . . . As she has received the power of production, and as she contains the reasons which are not the first not only does she, by virtue of what she has received, produce, but she

³¹ Thunder does appear as a tangible force in Shakespeare with the real power to crush and flatten, though more often it exists as a sound only. Cf. *Richard II* I. iii. 81; *Henry VI* IV. i. 104; *Othello* V. ii. 235. Miss Caroline Spurgeon (*Shakespeare's Imagery* [New York, 1936], p. 342) comments thus: "The fury of the elements, described, be it remarked, wholly in terms of the human body, . . . at the height of his half-demented passion, he commands the *all-shaking* thunder to 'smite flat [So Qq] the thick rotundity o' th' world.' This last amazing image is one of several in Shakespeare, notably in *Anthony and Cleopatra*, which evoke the spectacle of devastating bodily action on so stupendous a scale that the emotions which give rise to it are lifted to a similar terrific and vast intensity."

³² II. iv. 283-285. A. C. Bradley, *Shakespearean Tragedy* (London, 1949), p. 328, n. Knight (*Wheel of Fire*, p. 196) remarks: "Edgar's trumpet is as the universal judgment summoning vicious man to account."

also draws from herself something which is evidently inferior [matter]."³³ Plotinus conceived further, and here he extends Plato, of the shaping by man as a not dissimilar process: "all creatures of art and industry are ideal in a secondary sense, in so far that as they embody the thoughts of the derived intelligence of man. Thus he is able to speak of the form of a house, as Plato spoke of the idea of a bed. . . . What we recognize when we see a house is the plan, the mind of the builder."³⁴ The individual moulds here suggested approach more nearly to Shakespeare's description of complete destruction. Thus the word *moulds* embraces in Platonic terminology those forms employed by the creator in the general and continued creation and expands in Neoplatonic significance to include those inferior patterns or ideals utilized by man. With the forms or moulds cracked there can evidently be no more creation. Their ruin is even more fundamental, however; without the moulds existence itself ceases. "Every natural image remains what it was, so long as its archetype subsists. It is therefore an error to believe that, while the intelligible world subsists the visible world could perish."³⁵ Consequently the visible world must perish with the death of the archetypal.

The curse against creation in terms of *moulds*, in terms of pagan Neoplatonism is paralleled by a similar curse in *germains*, a term of Christian Scholasticism. Mr. Curry in his investigation of the latter word as it appears in the quotation already given from *Macbeth* has indicated the medieval sources of its significance.

First [God] created out of nothing a chaotic mass called prime matter, impregnated with the germs of all created things, *rationes seminales*. These *rationes seminales* represent the material essences which correspond to the exemplars in God's mind. . . . Thus God . . . has created already within prime matter the germs of all possible visible things in the world. But the exterior operations of nature depend upon . . . the activities of good or bad men or angels. . . . These [*rationes seminales*] may be considered in sev-

³³ *Enneads* II, Bk. iii, *Plotinus Complete Works*, tr. K. S. Guthrie (Alpine [N.J.], 1918), p. 1186. Plotinus elsewhere describes in dramatic language the pattern resemblances of the here and yonder: "For since we say that this All is framed after the Yonder, as after a pattern, the All must first exist yonder as a living entity, an animal; and since its idea is complete, everything must exist yonder. Heaven, therefore, must exist there as an animal, not without what here we call its stars, and this is the idea of heaven. Yonder too of course must be Earth, not bare, but far more richly furnished with life; in it are all creatures that move on dry land and plants rooted in life. Sea, too, is yonder, and all water ebbing and flowing in abiding life; and all creatures that inhabit the water, and all the tribes of the air are part of the all yonder, and all aërial beings for the same reason as air itself. For how should that which is living not live itself, seeing that even here it lives? Surely then every animal must of necessity be yonder. For as each of the great parts of the world is, so of necessity is the creatures that it contains. As then heaven itself exists yonder, so yonder exist all the animals that dwell in heaven, and it is not possible that it should be otherwise."

The word "animals" in this passage embraces not only sentient creatures, but plants and inorganic substances. All share in a kind of life in so far as they are moulded by a word (C. Bigg, *Neoplatonism* [London, 1895], pp. 214-215). And again: "everything here below derives from above there, and is more beautiful in the superior world; for forms here below are mingled with matter; on high they are pure. Thus this universe proceeds from the intelligible world, and is contained by the forms from beginning to end" (*Enneads* V, Bk. viii, p. 562).

³⁴ Bigg, pp. 205-206.

³⁵ *Enneads* V, Bk. viii, p. 572.

eral ways: "In the first place, as Augustine says, they are primarily and originally in the Word of God as typical ideas. Secondly they are in the elements of the world, where they were produced together at the beginning, as in *universal causes*. Thirdly they are in those things which in the succession of time, are produced by universal causes, for instance in this planet, and in that animal, as in particular causes. Fourthly, they are in the seeds produced from plants and animals."³⁶

This matter impregnated by God with the germs from which spring all life is created in the beginning, but may be acted upon by men, angels, or demons since these are free agents and capable, chemist-like, of hastening or retarding a reaction which is preordained. Thus in *Macbeth* the king calls on the weird sisters by virtue of their demonic powers to direct the action of nature's germs. In *Lear* the king likewise calls out to supernatural powers which have control over the action of the seeds of creative nature.

Thus if *moulds* be allowed to represent form and *germains* to represent the seeds in matter, or matter informed, it is clear that the destruction is one of both form and matter, is in short the condition of being and existence at the Last Judgment. The world will come to its end, that is to say, will cease to exist as matter, will revert to the chaotic principles, or at least will be banished from the realms of form, while the souls of the blessed will be assumed into the All-Soul, and form and difference will be abolished.

It is notable that these images of destruction pertain primarily to creation; they are not directed against already existent beings. Hamlet similarly says, "Those that are married already—all but one—shall live; the rest shall keep as they are" (III. i. 156). To Lear, remembering his serpent children, the consuming evil is parenthood. Hamlet's charge to Ophelia, again, "Get thee to a nunnery," is a means of securing her chastity, and Lear's earlier curses against Goneril are those of barrenness (I. iv. 297 ff. and II. iv. 164-166). But the concept of the cessation of creation as the prime requisite of the latter day (even as it occurs in the fulness of time, not only as here ordered prematurely) appears in Ficino: "the highest and last end of the world which the world must reach at some time . . . will be, not movement, but rest. . . . Moreover the body of the world will be most beautiful in that most perfect state. When the course of the heaven through which all things are generated is finally fulfilled, nothing will be generated anymore."³⁷

A further explanation of the method of destruction to be employed may be drawn from the word *germains* understood not philosophically, but gestatively. Such a connotation evokes an entirely new level of interpretation. The image begins now with the *rotundity o' th' world* which suggests at once the roundness of the earth as general mother, and secondly the tumescent womb of

³⁶ W. C. Curry, *Shakespeare's Philosophical Patterns* (Baton Rouge, 1937), pp. 34, 36, 39, quoting M. DeWulf, *The History of Medieval Philosophy* (New York, 1926), I, 118 ff., and the *Summa Theologica*, I, 115, 2, c. But cf. the entire chapter, "Tumbling Nature's Germens," pp. 29-49. Mr. Curry is interested in pointing out the actions of the demons (the weird sisters) as well as the sources for this scholastic concept as a commonplace in Renaissance thinking.

³⁷ M. Ficinus, *Opera Omnia* (Basel, 1561), p. 416, tr. Virginia Conant and quoted in P. O. Kristeller, *The Philosophy of Marsilio Ficino* (New York, 1943), p. 189.

woman in particular.³⁸ Similarly in *Timon of Athens* (a near contemporary of *King Lear*), Timon, digging in the earth for a root, discourses venomously on man's ingratitude.³⁹

Common mother, thou
Whose womb unmeasurable and infinite breast
Teems and feeds all,
Ensear thy fertile and conceptionous womb;
Let it no more bring out ingrateful man!
Go great with tigers, dragons, wolves, and bears;
Teem with new monsters. (IV. iii. 177 ff.)

In the first phrase of the image, "Strike flat the thick rotundity o' th' world," the womb itself is not damaged; it is merely deflated. This is an action most readily accomplished by the death of the foetus, without the necessity of any harm occurring to the parent. Sir Thomas Browne reports that lightning, the weapon in use in this instance, can indeed accomplish just this. "And if we consider the threefold effect of Jupiter's Trisulc, to burn, discuss, and terebrate; and if that be true which is commonly delivered, that it will melt the blade yet pass the scabbard; kill the child yet spare the mother; dry up the wine, yet leave the hogshead entire; though it favor the amulet it may not spare us."⁴⁰ Though Lear's bitterness is directed principally against children (his own and Goneril's), this slaughter is not yet enough. "Crack Nature's moulds" has another significance more important than its Platonic meaning. In this progression the mould is the womb. *Mould* appears with this meaning elsewhere in Shakespeare: speaking of two brothers: "that bed, that womb,/ That metal, that self mould that fashioned thee,/ Made him a man."⁴¹ And finally with a hint of *coitus interruptus*, "all germaines spill at once/ That make ingrateful man." The seeds of the next generation are to be poured out in wastefulness, and, to revert, as in them are the seminal principles of the continuity of the various types of life, all the particular causes of created things cease to exist.⁴²

The reason for this mad ruin is not hard to find: *ingrateful man*. This is a destruction which like the Noachic Deluge and the Final Judgment is sent as a punishment for filial ingratitude, to overcome all "unnaturalness between the child and the parent."⁴³ Its thunderbolts must destroy and abrogate ut-

³⁸ Mr. Heilman has discovered an earlier reference to pregnancy in Edmund's pun at the close of his apostrophe to Nature (I. ii). The parallel in *The Winter's Tale* (IV. iv. 489-490) has already been commented upon: "Let Nature crush the sides o' th' earth together/ And mar the seeds within!"

³⁹ Cf. also Bradley, pp. 270, 274-275 and n. Parallel animal imagery will be noted.

⁴⁰ *Pseudodoxia Epidemica*, Bk. II, Ch. vi, p. 6 (ed. Keynes [London, 1928], II, 170). A gloss may not be inapposite:

trisulc: a trident, commonly in Latin for Jove's lightning. Cf. Ovid, *Ibis* 467.
discuss: to scatter
terebrate: to pierce

The three examples given are patently illustrations of the container spared, the contained ruined.

⁴¹ *Richard II* I. ii. 22-24.

⁴² Cf. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, Pt. I, Q. lxxiii, A. 1, and Q. cxv, A. 2: quoting Augustine, "As a mother is pregnant with the unborn offspring, so the world is pregnant with the causes of unborn beings." Note still the allusion to the earth in terms of a general maternity.

⁴³ I. ii. 157. Cf. Genesis vi. 5-13 and Ovid, *Metamorphoses* I. 240-243.

terly; its lightnings must eracinate all germens lest they, grown up sinners and ingrates like Goneril and Regan, might make another generation of ingrateful creatures.

Lear's command to Nature in these tremendous lines is for complete destruction and primordial chaos. Miss Sitwell has pointed out that "Lear . . . in his prayer to Nature to kill the sources of life in his daughters, struck at the very heart of Nature, disturbing that lake of Darknesse, the original chaos from which all being arose."⁴⁴ In his command he wills that all creation tumble again into that lake of chaos in a cataclysmic eruption with the characteristics at once of the original Deluge and of the "abomination of desolation" at the Latter Day.

The Citadel

⁴⁴ Edith Sitwell, "King Lear," *Atlantic Monthly*, CLXXXV (May 1950), 58.

SONNET 30

WHEN to the Sessions of sweet silent thought,
I summon up remembrance of things past,
I sigh the lacke of many a thing I sought,
And with old woes new waile my deare times waste:
Then can I drowne an eye (un-us'd to flow)
For precious friends hid in deaths dateles night,
And weepe a fresh loves long since canceld woe,
And mone th'expençe of many a vannisht sight.
Then can I greeve at greivances fore-gon,
And heavily from woe to woe tell ore
The sad account of fore-bemoned mone,
Which I new pay, as if not payd before.
But if the while I thinke on thee (deare friend)
All losses are restord, and sorrowes end.

THE 1950 SEASON AT STRATFORD-UPON-AVON —A MEMORABLE ACHIEVEMENT IN STAGE HISTORY

By ALICE VENEZKY

THE 1950 productions at Stratford-upon-Avon are an important milestone in the stage history of Shakespeare's plays. In its longest and most successful season, the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre presented John Gielgud, Peggy Ashcroft, and Gwen Ffrangcon-Davies in *Henry VIII*, *Measure for Measure*, *Julius Caesar*, *Much Ado About Nothing*, and *King Lear*, and made two major contributions to the modern staging of Shakespeare's plays.

In the movement toward simplified staging, as a revolt against the over-elaboration of the last century, some earlier modern producers often erred on the side of the bizarre, which distracted the audience, or the narrowly archaic, which restricted the actors. At Stratford, four out of the five plays employed a single-unit setting, modified by lighting, movable units and properties, but requiring no lowering of the curtain (except at the intermission) for scenery changes. Thus the action flowed smoothly and uninterruptedly from scene to scene and restored, as discussed below, many of the effective contrasts inherent in the plays.

The second important contribution of these productions was in the restoration of the text. This, again, came not as an innovation, but as the culmination of a movement in this direction begun in staging earlier in this century. In staging the plays one hundred years ago, the "waits" between scenes (in addition to the regular intermissions between acts) would cut as much as twenty minutes from the playing script. To restore the almost complete texts to the playing versions, the Stratford company utilized not only the rapid staging on a unit set, but a faster reading or "pacing" of the lines. Such pacing permitted an actor, for example, to deliver ten lines, instead of five to seven lines in the old-fashioned, slower reading. Besides, as used by actors with lucidity and precision, this faster timing more closely approximates actual speech, and is more easily understood by the audience. It is also closer to the delivery used in Shakespeare's own day. (See Alfred Hart, "The Time Allotted for the Representation of Elizabethan and Jacobean Plays," *RES*, VIII [1932], 395-413.)

Faithfulness to the original text, painstaking care down to the smallest detail, and inspiration of interpretation made the Stratford productions not only the most exciting but the most popular theater in England this past summer. It also reveals the fallacy of Sir Laurence Olivier's belief that a one-dimensional hero, a cut script, and an expanded scene are necessary for making Shakespeare palatable to "Gertie in the gallery." At Stratford, where the balcony seats were 34¢, the Warwickshire townspeople and farmers were in regular attendance, along with theater-lovers from all over the world.

As directed by Tyrone Guthrie, the staging of continuous scenes on a unit set in *Henry VIII* revealed the effective contrasts intended in the script but lost

in slower staging. With the theme of the play "how soon . . . mightiness meets misery," the fluid staging juxtaposed a scene of downfall with one of a spectacular rise. The music of the masque where Henry meets Anne is still in our ears when the muffled drums usher in from the left upper entry the somber procession of Buckingham on his way to execution. Later, as the fallen Wolsey goes off down the center stairs leading into the orchestra pit, the excitement about Anne's coronation begins on the main stage.

Margaret Webster, who staged the play on Broadway a few seasons back, pointed out in her book *Shakespeare Without Tears* that it is difficult to achieve unity in presenting this play because the focus shifts from Buckingham to Katherine, to Wolsey. Guthrie unified the play by stressing the figure in the title role—Henry VIII. Admirably portrayed by Anthony Quayle, the general director of the Stratford company, Henry dominated the scenes, huge, hot-tempered but human, a mixture of strong-willed sovereign and pouting school-boy, a pleasure-loving king but a conscientious one, with true Tudor warmth and directness.

Another unifying force was Guthrie's development of the setting. An appropriate backdrop for the "falls of princes," for the ambitions and intrigues was the sophisticated court, with its spies and counterspies, formalities, decoration, slander, manipulation, documents, and multiple copies of all pronouncements.

Where comedy was concerned, sometimes Guthrie strove too hard for an effect, as in the antics of the "dispossessed" clerk in the trial scene, who was pushed off his stool by Henry, to continue his writing on the floor. But Guthrie's humanizing of that mouthpiece of exposition, the First Gentleman, was an inspiration, as George Rose transformed this boring anonymity into the epitome of all comic gossips.

Although it used two settings, *Julius Caesar* omitted the curtain and preserved the same swift pacing of scenes to reveal effective relationships. At the end of II. iii, the conspirators could still be seen surrounding Caesar and were going off with him at the right upper entry, as Artemidorus came on down-stage left, reading his scroll.

In staging Antony's oration, Quayle doubled the attendant crowd by utilizing the audience, to whom Antony directly addressed his speech, while the stage crowd surrounded him on the other three sides. The tumult of the crowds, too loud at the earlier presentations, was later toned down for a more successful effect.

Quayle's production of *Julius Caesar* stressed characterization, the fallible person behind the famous politician. Andrew Cruickshank's Caesar was as unsympathetic as North's; Harry Andrews skillfully combined the noble and self-righteous in Brutus, while Quayle's Antony was frankly pleasure-loving and opportunistic. John Gielgud's was a memorable Cassius—shrewd yet envious, weak yet valiant, high of motive yet mean in contrivance, and with a suggested nobility of character that made Brutus' eulogy appropriate.

Gielgud's portrayals of the four roles—Cassius, Benedick, Angelo, and Lear—were not only a triumph of versatility, but demonstrated that he is the foremost actor of Shakespeare today. Nothing could be further from Cassius than

his graceful, dapper Benedick. His rich inventiveness and precise timing brought out all of the wit of the lines—as in his three variant readings of “I am well” in II. iii. In his comic pantomime in the arbor where he overhears his friends carefully discussing Beatrice’s love (II. iii), he goes from confidence to relaxation, to boredom, to superiority, to shock at line 94, and thence to adolescent anxiety. In the course of the action, Benedick’s humorous crises are reflected by the succession of fantastic hats he wears, ranging from a flowered cartwheel to a small, peaked affair. Peggy Ashcroft’s Beatrice, sprightly and endearing, finely balanced Gielgud’s Benedick. Gielgud directed the play as a succession of stage pictures, a fairy-tale fantasy, but one with charm and polish. Since the acting was in high, artificial style, with no one taking the villains very seriously, the melodramatic scene in the church between father and daughter seemed out of key.

In contrast to the sunny reds and yellows which predominated in *Much Ado*, the shades in *Measure for Measure* were muted—the olive drab of Angelo’s robe, the brown of the Friar’s cloak, the white and grey of Isabella’s costume. The only true color was the rich red velvet of the Duke’s outfit on his return to the city. The background added to the credibility of this much-criticized play; Peter Brook set the action against a sordid medieval Vienna, with its prostitutes, beggars, cripples, and degenerates. As the somber, thin-lipped judge, a dedicated intellectual who suddenly finds that his baser emotions are stronger than his will, Gielgud’s Angelo was a careful, complex study. In his first scene with Isabella, when she grasped his hand in her fervor, Gielgud showed, subtly, the response of the awakened Angelo. His voice was somewhat less sure, his motions not flagrantly but just perceptibly less steady. The audience was aware of the change. Isabella was not. In the final scene in the play, Gielgud was eloquent in silence as he stooped at the feet of the wronged Mariana.

It is a trite but necessary reminder that so much that is criticized and carped at in Shakespeare becomes perfectly clear and effective when the play is seen. Criticized as a stiff, inartistic, medieval device, the Friar’s soliloquy at the end of Act III was delivered by Harry Andrews in this production as a rumination, moving, as well as in character. In the other major roles, George Rose’s Pompey had the bustling vigor and leering amiability of an Elizabethan Bobby Clark, but Barbara Jefford’s Isabella perhaps did “protest too much.”

Crown of the season was Gielgud’s *Lear*, drawn on the grand scale, but composed of innumerable complexities. The small touches were as memorable as the total effect to which they contributed. In the opening scene, for instance, the dotage of the monarch was demonstrated throughout, but was pointed up by his childishly refusing to look at Cordelia as she departed with France. In subtle contrast to his boisterous entry from the hunt and his temperamental outburst to Goneril, Gielgud in the next short scene revealed the physical strain as his body bent with exhaustion and mental anxiety as he whispered—not bellowed—the line “O, let me not be mad . . .” (I. v. 49).

His vocal virtuosity contributed to his portrayal of the changing moods of the monarch. Authoritative yet tremulous in the opening scene, and ringing with rage in the cursing of Goneril, his voice crescendoed to a climax in the

storm sequel, was cracked and dry in madness, and finally low and melodious in Lear's final humility.

Gielgud is the master of gesture as well as of voice. In the hovel at the mock trial, he caught up the joint-stool which he had called Regan, turned it over wonderingly in his hands, and, crying out "Is there any cause in nature that makes these hard hearts," thumped the stool twice so that the hollow knocks counterpointed the words "hard hearts" (III. vi. 81). Another small but memorable gesture was in IV. vi, where Lear, heavy with suffering and madness, rests on a bench beside the blinded Gloucester, who asks to kiss his king's hand. Gielgud conveyed a world of weariness in his slight gesture and empty reply, "Let me wipe it first; it smells of mortality" (I. 136).

Most moving of the scenes in all the plays—and in all the theater experience of many in the audience—was the recognition scene in *Lear*. Bewildered and hollow-voiced, Lear awoke, and fell from the low bed to kneel for forgiveness before Cordelia. Peggy Ashcroft reflected the anxiety of the audience, and the choked-up eloquence of her "no cause, no cause" both climaxed and relieved the emotion aroused by the scene.

Regan and Goneril were vamps as well as vampires, with Gwen Ffrangcon-Davies especially vicious as a coldly attractive, red-haired Regan. Alan Badel's fool was a pinch-faced, pathetic, pale little creature.

The unit set, suggesting a great tree trunk dividing into two branches at the top, stressed center staging. Although the set was much criticized, Gielgud explained to this writer that the stage at the Memorial Theatre poses a difficult problem because the line of the entire audience's vision restricts most of the action to the center of the stage. In the first scene of *Lear*, this necessity was turned to advantage by stressing the grouping and divisions of the characters, with the King's throne in the center upstage, a sister and husband at either side, and Cordelia downstage left.

There was a great diversity of opinion about this *Lear* between critics who reviewed the opening night and those who saw it later. As sometimes happens on an opening night, the play did not project. Gielgud told me, "it was as if there were a thin, gauze curtain between me and the audience. I seemed to be lecturing on Lear, rather than playing him." By the next day, critics were cheering the second performance, and two weeks later those who saw it were hailing it as truly great.

Because Gielgud's acting was so impressive, one tends to forget that the excellence of the ensemble performance was an important factor in making the Stratford season so outstanding. Each actor was perfect in his part, from the starring roles down to the spear carriers. Every rôle was richly realized as an individual creation. Michael Bates's Lord Sandys was a red-nosed old squire who retained his love for food, drink, and women; Michael Gwynn's Casca was a curled poseur whose assumed plain speech, as Cassius tells us, was foreign to his nature. Hard work and infinite care on the part of the actors, directors, designers, and stage crew, combined with inspiration and talent to make the 1950 season a memorable one in the history of the staging of Shakespeare's plays. It is heartening news that Lawrence Langner of the Theatre Guild, realizing that

a good Shakespearian actor needs much practice, is planning to establish an American Shakespeare Festival at Westport, Connecticut. Here Mr. Langner hopes to give American actors the opportunity of extensive training in Shakespearian production which is required for such outstanding presentations as those at Stratford.

Hunter College

SONNET 54

O H how much more doth beauteous seeme
By that sweet ornament which truth doth give,
The Rose lookes faire, but fairer we it deeme
For that sweet odor, which doth in it live:
The Canker bloomes have still as deepe a die,
As the perfumed tincture of the Roses,
Hang on such thornes, and play as wantonly,
When sommers breath their masked buds discloses:
But for their virtue only is their show,
They live unwoo'd, and unrespected fade,
Die to themselves. Sweet Roses doe not so,
Of their sweet deathes, are sweetest odors made:
And so of you, beauteous and lovely youth,
When that shall vade, by verse distills your truth.

SHAKESPEARE'S *MERCHANT OF VENICE*

IL vii. 78-79

By HENNIG COHEN

Portia. A gentle riddance. Draw the curtains, go.
Let all of his complexion choose me so.

PORTIA'S prejudice against the "complexion" of the Prince of Morocco is usually explained as a manifestation of Elizabethan negrophobia, and in part, this explanation is sound. However, her feeling has a religious rather than a racial basis.

To Portia and to the Elizabethan audience, the Moor was identified with the Devil because of his color. Reginald Scot states in *Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584) that "of all human forms that of a Negro or Moor is considered a favorite one with demons." Since the time of the mystery plays, the traditional color of the Devil on the stage had been black. In the first play of the York Cycle, *The Creation and the Fall of Lucifer*, the Devil, after his fall, bemoans the change in his physical appearance from "brightnes" to "blakkeste" (line 100). In the last play of the same cycle, *The Judgement Day*, the First Good Spirit states that lost souls must dwell in Hell with "feendes blake" (line 143).

Shakespeare's devils are also black. In *Hamlet*, Laertes vows "to the blackest devil" that he will have revenge (IV. v. 131), and in *Othello*, when Emilia learns the details of Desdemona's death, she compares her to an angel and Othello to "the blacker devil" (V. ii. 130). There are similar references to the Devil's dark hue in *All's Well that Ends Well*, *Twelfth Night*, and *Macbeth*.

The Prince of Morocco is treated by Portia with a courtesy and deference befitting his station. Yet from the outset, the implications of his color are clearly stated. Portia remarks upon hearing of his approach: "If he have the condition of a saint and the complexion of a devil, I had rather he should shrive me than wive me" (I. iii. 144-145). Her concluding words, after the Prince has failed to choose the right casket, are not so much an observation on the Prince as a man as a serio-comic expression of the hope that she will not be "chosen" by the Devil.

Tulane University

SONNET 55

NOT marble, nor the gilded monument,
Of Princes shall out-live this powrefull rime,
But you shall shine more bright in these contents
Then unswept stone, besmeer'd with sluttish time.
When wastefull warre shall *Statues* over-turne,
And broiles roote out the worke of masonry,
Nor *Mars* his sword, nor warres quick fire shall burne:
The living record of your memory.
Gainst death, and all oblivious enmity
Shall you pace forth, your praise shall stil finde roome,
Even in the eyes of all posterity
That weare this world out to the ending doome.
So til the judgement that your selfe arise,
You live in this, and dwell in lovers eies.

REVIEWS

Studies in Bibliography. Papers of the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, Vol. III, 1950-1951. Edited by FREDSON BOWERS. Charlottesville, Virginia: Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 1950. Pp. [vi] + [307], 24 plates. \$5.00.

Studies in Bibliography contains a number of articles which are important and interesting to all students of textual matters. Five of these speak particularly to readers of Shakespeare—R. C. Bald's "Editorial Problems—A Preliminary Survey," Sir Walter Greg's "The Rationale of Copy-Text," F. T. Bowers' "Some Relations of Bibliography to Editorial Problems," Philip Williams' "*Troilus and Cressida*: The Relationship of Quarto and Folio," and Charlton Hinman's "Mark III: New Light on the Proof-Reading for the First Folio of Shakespeare." The first three of these are papers read before the English Institute in September 1949.

There is a curious conspiracy concerning textual criticism. "Shakespeare experts" are apparently banded together to maintain that it is a subject which is boring to all and unintelligible to the young. J. Q. Adams, for instance, said in the preface to his *Hamlet* (1929), that "textual problems . . . can be intelligently handled only by an expert; and the student should be concerned with them only in a formal and advanced course in textual criticism." Adams tells much less about his views on the state of the text of *Hamlet* than did W. G. Clark and W. Aldis Wright about theirs in the little Clarendon Press Series *Hamlet* of 1872. The child who goes at the age of eighteen as a classical scholar to an English university has been introduced to the elements of Greek and Latin textual criticism. The Clarendon *Hamlet* was designed for the sixteen-year-old. Surely the basic principles of Shakespeare textual criticism can be laid before a moderately bright creature in his pre-graduate days. Objectors will say that this is "useless knowledge." I suspect that no knowledge is useless (though it may have slight *ad hoc* value); I am certain that every process of acquiring knowledge is useful. We are schooled to acquire not facts but mental habits. (I say this dogmatically, but will the educationalists be kind enough to take me up?)

If more of the young were permitted to know something about Shakespeare textual criticism, R. C. Bald would not be able, in his paper, to call attention to the shameful state of the texts of standard editions of Shakespeare. "Within the past year or so," he writes, "two new college *Shakespeares* have appeared, [here he notes "G. B. Harrison, *Shakespeare, Twenty-Three Plays and Sonnets*; O. J. Campbell, *The Living Shakespeare*"] . . . both reproduce the Globe text. It is not as if there had been no advances in the textual study of Shakespeare during the present century, nor are these two editors ignorant of the work of Pollard, McKerrow, Greg, and Dover Wilson; but is there any other branch of study in which a teacher would be satisfied to present students, as these books do, with the results achieved by scholarship up to, but not beyond, the year 1864?"

Sir Walter Greg has contributed more to our knowledge of Shakespeare's plays than any other man of the twentieth century. One day, despite those who elect to rely on the labours of Clark and Wright, we shall be given the first critical, unmodernised text of Shakespeare since 1623 (not that the First Folio

was unmodernised); McKerrow and Greg will then deserve most of the credit. The principles argued in McKerrow's *Prolegomena for the Oxford Shakespeare* (1939) and Greg's *The Editorial Problem in Shakespeare* (1942) are, *pace* Adams, known to many beside the experts, and many readers of Shakespeare will derive pleasure as well as benefit from Greg's present paper.

Before God said "Let McKerrow and Greg be" and all was light, Shakespeare editors set in front of themselves all the "old editions," rolled various readings round their tongues and gave us that which pleased their palates most—and may my metaphors be forgiven. To-day, in Greg's words, "It is . . . the modern editorial practice to choose whatever extant text may be supposed to represent most nearly what the author wrote and to follow it with the least possible alteration." That practice Greg here discusses; in certain details he advances from the views which he put forth in 1942. This paper is a necessary adjunct to *The Editorial Problem*. I shall not attempt to summarise Greg; I shall quote the words of two of the predecessors of Clark and Aldis Wright, "Reade him."

Charlton Hinman has some striking and exciting news. E. E. Willoughby, in 1932, described and discussed one of the treasures of the Folger Shakespeare Library, a leaf of *Anthony and Cleopatra* from the First Folio, with one page bearing proofreader's marks. Hinman described, in 1942, another proof-corrected page, in *Othello*, which he had found in a First Folio, again in Folger. He has now, in the same mine, picked up yet a third—from *King Lear*; he here describes and discusses it and we are given photographs of the three pages.

No one knows what was the condition of the *Anthony* leaf when, in the last century, it was found "in a parcel of fragments of the First Folio." That it had been part of an imperfect copy of the book is overwhelmingly probable. All the extant Tudor and Stuart printer's waste which I have seen or heard of survives because it has been part of a binding. The *Anthony* leaf shows none of the stigmata which one associates with such a fate. The *Othello* and *Lear* leaves reside among unmarked leaves, and conjugate with unmarked and uncorrected leaves, in normally bound copies of the book.

Hinman establishes some points which can never again be left out of consideration (but they will be) by a Shakespeare editor. The central doctrine of present-day bibliographers who interest themselves in textual criticism is that we cannot hope to come as near as possible to an author's manuscript until we have a moderately clear idea of what obstacles were placed between that manuscript and the first printed edition *deliberately, in the printing-house*. Hinman lays bare for us a number of proofreaders' habits. He persuades me that the reader did little in the way of referring to copy for his corrections and that the corrections were introduced, mainly, for the sake of providing the purchaser with a comely page. Hinman's, to me remarkable but acceptable, deduction is that if we are to hope to come as near as possible to what the author wrote, we shall desire the readings of the least-corrected state of the formes—except when there is evidence of reference to copy or of correction by the author. It is also noteworthy that he finds, after an examination of all the 82 Folger First Folios that the uncorrected state of the forme to which the *Othello* leaf belongs is found in only four unsophisticated copies (and in the Chatsworth-Devonshire copy, which has been facsimiled) and that the uncorrected state of the forme to which the *Lear* leaf belongs is found only in the same four copies (and in Chatsworth-Devonshire copy), plus one other. "Clearly there must have been," Hinman writes, "a more systematic method of separating the sheep from the goats, and of *keeping* the two breeds apart, than we have sometimes supposed."

It may be suggested that if the two breeds were never mixed, there would never be any call for separation. Hinman's finding agrees remarkably with the findings of A. K. McIlwraith, recently published in *The Library*, in connection with Massinger quartos. All this is by no means the sum of what Hinman has to say. "Reade him," too.

Philip Williams has attacked the problem of the status of the 1609-quarto and 1623-folio texts of *Troilus*. No editor who adheres to McKerrow principles will use as his copy-text an edition which is derived from an earlier extant edition. Whether the folio text of *Troilus* is derived from the 1609 text or is independent and "substantive" has not up to now been established. Williams establishes. By a charmingly neat display of evidence from close inspection of the use of roman and italic types, of speech-heading forms and of "significant spelling," he provides an unanswerable argument that the F1 text was printed mainly from a copy of the quarto and is only partly substantive. Future editors will have, in Williams's words, to regard "The folio text . . . as a derivative edition containing some substantive readings emanating from an independent source." And, if I know editors, they will continue to produce squalid, eclectic texts or convey the Globe.

Williams makes his case with pretty ease and employs his novel methods to excellent effect. His most startling feat is to distinguish between the idiosyncratic normalizations of two different compositors. If we are going to be able to produce formulae by which we can work out compositors' idiosyncrasies, we shall indeed come nearer to many Shakespeare autograph manuscripts than we could, twenty years ago, have dreamed of coming.

I have left no space to speak of the papers of R. C. Bald and Fredson Bowers and of the many other good and exciting things which fill this publication. Some of them are specifically unshakespearian in their direction. Almost all are infused with the idea which I mentioned above—that if we are to come really near to an author's manuscript we must know more and more and yet more of how that manuscript would have been treated in the printing-house in its day.

It was possible to feel, in 1942, after the reading of the McKerrow *Prolegomena* and the Greg *Editorial Problem*, that the real edition of Shakespeare was just around the corner. The continuing work of Greg and the new work of the younger men to whom he is the master, make one feel with some sadness that that edition is a deal farther off than we gaily thought. But as we see how far away it is, we are at the same time having it brought nearer again. We now have a critical edition of Jonson; we have a critical edition of even Nathan Field. The critical edition of Shakespeare (my optimism will break through) may yet come in the lifetime of the middle-aged of us.

May I add two perhaps irrelevant paragraphs to what I have written above?

(1) Will it be thought that I, an Englishman, am leaning over backwards into republicanism if I take this opportunity of saying how gratified all Shakespearean students were when the proper authorities thought fit last year to honour Walter Wilson Greg with knighthood, and that the action brought even more honour upon those proper authorities? We knew that he deserved public recognition, but we also knew that, as Polonius had to be told, not every man gets his desert.

(2) In the course of this review, I misquoted Pope, who wrote,

Nature and Nature's laws lay hid in night:
God said "Let Newton be!" and all was light.

A modern English writer has added this couplet,

It could not last. The Devil, shouting "Ho,
Let Einstein be!" restored the *status quo*.

I quote this myself to save others the trouble of quoting it at me and giving it reference to the work of bibliographers who have followed in the footsteps of the Newtons of Shakespearian textual criticism.

JOHN CROW

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Shakespeare Quartos in Facsimile, No. 6. Romeo and Juliet, Second Quarto, 1599. Edited by SIR WALTER W. GREG. London: Shakespeare Association and Sidgwick and Jackson, Ltd., 1949. Pp. viii + 92. 21s.

AFTER a lapse of nine years, during which a second world war has been fought, the English Shakespeare Association has courageously resumed the publication of its excellent facsimiles of the Shakespeare quartos. It seems incredible that these essential tools of textual study should not have been produced many years ago, but funds are always more readily available for research in the physical sciences than in the humanities.

The facsimile of *Romeo and Juliet* is of the same high quality as its predecessors in this series. The editor has chosen to reproduce the fine copy in the Edinburgh University Library that bears on its title-page the signature of Ben Jonson's friend, William Drummond of Hawthornden. It is good to know that the Scottish poet to whom Jonson communicated his opinions of Shakespeare was the owner of the copy of the "Good" quarto of *Romeo and Juliet* and read the play in 1606, scoring a number of passages of text.

The facsimile is provided with the same apparatus that is found in the earlier volumes, and in the prefatory note Sir Walter Greg supplies full information about passages that are imperfectly printed in the original.

This series of facsimiles is recommended to everyone who likes to read Shakespeare's plays in the form in which they were first printed. It is an essential purchase, of course, for every college library.

J.G.M.

Le traduzioni di Shakespeare in Italia nel Settecento. By ANNA MARIA CRINÒ. Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1950. Pp. 116.

AFTER having sketched the background (French criticism of, translations and borrowings from Shakespeare: Prévost, Le Blanc, Voltaire, Mercier, Le Tourneur, etc.), Miss Crinò traces the earliest vestiges of Shakespeare knowledge in Italy (Magalotti, Report of the trip of Cosimo dei Medici to England in 1669, Antonio Conti, Paolo Rolli); studies the first (1756) Italian translation of a Shakespearean drama (*Julius Caesar*); musters the appraisals of Shakespeare by Algarotti, Quadrio, Denina, Bettinelli, Cesarotti, Napoli Signorelli, Pignotti; analyzes the still unpublished, meritorious prose-renditions (1777) by Alessandro Verri (1741-1816) of *Hamlet* and *Othello*; weighs judiciously the contributions of Giustina Renier Michiel (versions of *Othello*, *Macbeth*—1798—and *Coriolanus*—1800—which "laid the path for that Shakespeare enthusiasm characterizing the subsequent age of Romanticism").

Highlights of the Shakespearian penetration in eighteenth-century Italy are:
a) the widespread impact of Voltaire's judgments among peninsular critics; b)

Antonio Conti's (he was the first Italian critic to formulate an appreciation of Shakespeare) emphasis upon the "baroque" elements of Shakespeare's creations, his rapprochement between Shakespeare's ideal of a free dramatic construction and the taste of the majority of seventeenth-century Italians, as moulded by the vogue for Spanish *siglo de oro* plays; c) the retarding influence exerted upon Italian appreciation of Shakespeare by the empirico-historical as distinguished from the idealistic-historicistic viewpoint; while F. A. Zaccaria (editor of the *Annali letterari d'Italia*), for instance, dismisses Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* on the ground that this tragedy is merely "a snatch of history arranged into scenes," and while Cesarotti affirms that *Julius Caesar* could more fitly be entitled *The Roman Republic*, since "it is but a versified history of the revolutions of Rome," Manzoni's understanding of Shakespeare's greatness is conditioned upon his absorption of Vico's historicism; d) the bold justification by Domenico Valentini, the first Italian to translate Shakespeare, of S.'s infringement of the rules of Aristotelian-Horatian poetics; e) Shakespeare's influence upon Alfieri's *Saul*; f) the translation, by Raniero dei Calzabigi (1714-1795), the librettist of Glueck (*Orfeo*, 1762), whom Glueck credits with his own operatic reform ("c'est à M.de Calzabigi qu'en revient le principal mérite"), of the famous passage of *Richard III* (V. iii), in which Richard awakens from the dream in which he was haunted by the ghosts of his victims—Miss Crinò asserts that Calzabigi's translation of this passage is the best she has been able to find among eighteenth-century Italian versions of Shakespeare; g) the Italians' early view of Shakespeare's plays as potential librettos, which is piquantly premonitory of Böito and Verdi's convictions; h) the pioneering flashes of insight of Giuseppe Baretta, under Johnson's influence, as to the significance of such characters as Caliban, Falstaff (here again a hint is thrown out, in passing, toward the future, to the musical genius of Verdi) and of Shylock; i) the entrance of *Hamlet* into Italian literary consciousness under other auspices than those of Shakespeare: Apostolo Zeno's *Ambaleto*, 1705, which was translated into English and performed at the Haymarket Theatre in London in 1712, has absolutely no connection with S.'s masterpiece, of which Zeno was ignorant, although the source—Saxo Grammaticus—is the same for both playwrights.

An interesting conclusion emerges from Miss Crinò's study: the first attempt to introduce Shakespeare into Italy was not—as in France—a fragmentary translation and collection of summary excerpts from several plays, but—as in Germany—a complete and faithful rendition of a single drama.

ELIO GIANTURCO

Washington, D. C.

Elizabethan Shorthand and the First Quarto of King Lear. By GEORGE IAN DUTHIE. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1950. Pp. iv + 82. 21s.

EVER since 1637, when Thomas Heywood named stenography as the means by which some miscreant had stolen the text of one of his plays, scholars have been plagued with textual hypotheses based on the possibility of shorthand reporting. Among modern scholars, Alexander Schmidt, J. Q. Adams, Sir Edmund Chambers, and Sir Walter Greg have supported or countenanced the proposition that, for example, the Pide Bull Quarto of *King Lear* derives from a shorthand text. Miss Doran and Mr. William Matthews, among others, have argued cogently to the contrary. Now Mr. Duthie has followed up his critical edition of *Lear* with a little book which should end the controversy about the

quarto of *Lear* and provide criteria that may be applied in the study of other texts of dubious authority. The Pide Bull Quarto was not, could not have been, printed from the transcript of a shorthand report, whether the culprit used Timothy Bright's *Characterie*, Peter Bales's *Brachygraphie*, or John Willis' *Stenographie*. The excellence of the quarto text, its unvarying quality from beginning to end, and its high degree of accuracy, no matter how many characters are on stage or what the tempo of the scene, preclude the use of any of the contemporary systems of shorthand known to us. Not even John Willis, inventor of the best of them, could claim for his system more than that an adept practitioner could get a verbatim report of measured speech. Such arguments as these have been offered before; Mr. Duthie supports them with a careful analysis of all the variants in *Lear* between the First Quarto and the First Folio and demonstrates that a negligible percentage of these can be explained in terms of the faulty use of Willis' *Stenographie*. I do not agree with each one of his explanations, but these cases do not materially affect his calculations, and they certainly do not lead me to differ with his conclusions.

J.G.M.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

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TRIBUTE TO PROFESSOR R. M. SMITH

The gratitude of the Shakespeare Association of America is due Professor Robert M. Smith of Lehigh University for the great service he has rendered the Association for the past several years. Undertaking the Editorship of *The Shakespeare Association Bulletin* in 1947, upon the illness of the late Dr. Samuel A. Tannenbaum, Dr. Smith guided the *Bulletin* and its successor, *Shakespeare Quarterly*, with outstanding loyalty and intelligence. No person has been more responsible than Dr. Smith for the recognized position of *Shakespeare Quarterly* today. Professor Smith has been succeeded as Editor of the *Quarterly*, commencing with the January 1951 issue, and will now become Chairman of the Advisory Board. In this position of great responsibility, and in his continued capacity as a Director and as a member of the Editorial Board, he will serve the Association, which will have, in increased measure, the support of a great and good friend.

HINTS TO CONTRIBUTORS

Every author has his own pet system of preparing a manuscript, giving references, and writing footnotes; with the result that the normalizing of manuscripts before they can be sent to the printer consumes hours of editorial time. In an effort to secure reasonable uniformity, Dr. William R. Parker, the Secretary of the Modern Language Association, who as editor of *PMLA* handles innumerable manuscripts every year, has prepared a Manual of Style to be published in *PMLA* in April 1951. Already thirty or more learned journals have adopted it, wholly or substantially—among them, *Shakespeare Quarterly*. The contents of this issue of *SQ* have been edited to conform to the MLA Style Sheet.

Dr. Parker is to be congratulated upon the project, which promises to bring a measure of uniformity out of bewildering diversity. In public, at least, the editors of the learned journals bless him, though privately they may be grumbling a bit, for they too are having to form new stylistic habits.

Contributors are requested to familiarize themselves with the Style Sheet as soon as it is in circulation and to put their MSS in proper form before submitting them for publication.

Manuscripts that contain quotations from, or references to, Shakespeare's plays should include without fail a statement identifying the edition used by the author. This may be a quarto, the First Folio, or any one of the several standard editions. Many scholars regularly quote from the edition at hand but give act, scene, and line references to the Globe text for the convenience of their readers.

SHAKESPEARE CLUBS AND STUDY GROUPS

There are probably hundreds of Shakespeare Clubs and Study Groups in America, each one walking a lonely path. It would be interesting, and it

might prove helpful, for them to know something about each other. What is the name of the first Shakespeare club to be formed in the United States? Is it still active? If not, what club can lay claim to being the oldest?

Perhaps it would be fairer to inquire which is the oldest active club in each state. Who are its officers? What is the program of its activities?

Shakespeare Quarterly would like to know something about every such organization, old and historic, or newly formed. And it believes the clubs would like to know something about each other.

For example, the Shakespeare Club of New York City, which was incorporated in 1890 and has an honorable record, celebrated Shakespeare's birthday on April 23, 1950, at a dinner at which José Ferrer was toastmaster. Among the distinguished guests were Percy MacKaye, Miss Margaret Webster, Miss Rosamond Gilder, and Lawrence Langner. Shakespeare Club Awards for meritorious service were presented to Miss Katharine Hepburn (*in absentia*) and Miss Margaret Webster. A plaque was presented to Arthur Heine, retiring president, in recognition of his long services to the Club. The president for 1950-51 is Miss June Justice, 160 West 73d Street, New York City.

The Shakespeare Society of Washington has for a number of years honored someone in the community for distinguished service to Shakespeare studies by the award of the Henry D. Fruit Memorial Plate. Recipients to date are: Dr. E. V. Wilcox (1944); Dr. Joseph Quincy Adams (1945); Professor George B. Woods (1946); Dr. James G. McManaway (1947); Professor Fred S. Tupper (1948); Professor George Winchester Stone, Jr. (1949); and Mr. Ira E. Bennett (1950). The president of the Society is Dr. E. V. Wilcox, 5300 Broad Branch Road, Washington 15, D. C.

Another Washington, D. C., organization, known as The Shakespeare Study Group, exists among the members of the University Women's Club, Inc., of that city. From its beginning in March 1946 until June 1950, it was under the leadership of Miss Kansas Byers. In the current year, the leader is Miss Iva Grace Prisk. The Group meets regularly to read aloud and study the plays or to be addressed by a local Shakespearian, and it has already collected the nucleus of a Shakespeare library.

Shakespeare Quarterly wishes it had a list of all the Shakespeare Clubs, with their officers. Reports of club activities will be published from time to time as they are received and as space permits.

